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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PART 2

Pt. 1 bound with 1st sess.

Pt. 3 in 83d Cong

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

DECEMBER 6, 11, 12, AND 13, 1950

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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¹ Resigned from the committee November 30, 1950, to enter United States Senate.

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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PART 2

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Morgan M. Moulder, and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; William A. Wheeler, Courtney E. Owens, and James A. Andrews, investigators; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research, and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. The meeting will come to order.

Let the record show that a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Harrison, McSweeney, Moulder, Kearney, and Walter has been designated by the chairman to conduct this hearing.

Mr. TAVENNER, who is your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, we desire to present evidence in relation to communism in the District of Columbia, and our first witness is Henry Thomas.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Thomas, will you raise your right hand, please. You swear that the testimony you are about to give in this matter in hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY THOMAS

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. THOMAS. Henry Thomas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live?

Mr. THOMAS. 716 L Street SE., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. THOMAS. I am a laborer and at present I am president of a laborers' union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What union is it that you are president of?

Mr. THOMAS. Building Laborers' Local Union 74, affiliated with the International Hod Carriers, Building, and Common Laborers Union of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been president of that local?

Mr. THOMAS. Since June 17, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to June 17, 1948, did you hold any official position with that or any other union?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. I was secretary of local 30, the United Construction Workers. At that time that union was affiliated with the CIO. And I was subsequently elected vice president of local 74, in 1946. I served about 11 months, I think, in that capacity.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time that you were president of local 74, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I was.

Mr. HARRISON. Local 74 is the union you are president of now; is that correct?

Mr. THOMAS. That is correct.

Mr. HARRISON. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Beg pardon?

Mr. HARRISON. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. No; no.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period that you were president of that union, were there other officers who, like yourself, were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, there were.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee who they were?

Mr. THOMAS. Thomas G. Sampler, secretary-treasurer; Ernest Chambers—

Mr. TAVENNER. When you state secretary-treasurer, do you mean secretary-treasurer of the union?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right. Ernest Chambers was vice president of the union. Norris Hammond, sergeant at arms; and William Gray, business agent. McKinley Gray was not an officer at that time. He was subsequently elected a member of the executive board in 1949.

Mr. HARRISON. Do I understand this witness is still president of this local?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

How do you know that those individuals who were officers of the union were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. We were in the same Communist club together.

Mr. TAVENNER. This union to which you refer, of which you are the president, is it one of the American Federation of Labor unions?

Mr. THOMAS. It is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether there were employees of that union, that is, employees other than the officers, who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Robert Paul.

Mr. TAVENNER. Robert Paul. Are there others whose names you can recall at the moment?

Mr. THOMAS. I never met in any Communist meeting, to the best of my knowledge, with Albert Underwood, but I can say I am pretty sure that he was a member of the Communist Party. He is the engineer in the building.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there others whose names you can recall?

Mr. THOMAS. My wife at that time was associated. Her name is Gladys G. R. Thomas. She worked as bookkeeper for a period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before I ask you any more detailed questions relating to your Communist Party activities while president of the local union, I want to go back and find out just what your record has been in the Communist Party from the very beginning of your activities in the Communist Party. When did you become a Communist?

Mr. THOMAS. I joined the Communist Party—I don't know the exact year; it was in 1937 or 1938. It was in the winter, so I don't know if it was before Christmas or after Christmas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee how you became a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. I was walking the street more or less in search of a job at that time. I had not worked in 3 or 4 months, and my shoes were tied with wire; I had to put paper in them to keep my feet off the ground; and I met a gentleman in the street. His name was Martin Chancey. I asked him for a cigarette, and from this we became acquainted, and he sold me on the idea of joining the Communist Party to fight against the things that I was caught in at that time. I didn't have a cent in my pocket and it was a good line, I felt at that time, and I went in with him. In fact, he loaned me the dime to pay my original initiation fee. It was 10 cents for an unemployed member at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position Martin Chancey had at that time or later held in the Communist Party in the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. At that time he was city secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he held later?

Mr. THOMAS. To the best of my knowledge he was the city secretary when he left for the Army. He was drafted into the Army in 1943, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he is now district organizer in the State of Ohio?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, district organizer of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Correction. I think he is the secretary out there of the Communist Party for the State of Ohio. He was the last time I heard about him.

Mr. TAVENNER. I interrupted you. You said you became a member of the Communist Party in the winter of 1937 or 1938?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state just how you were brought into the party and to whom you paid your dues, and to what unit you were assigned?

Mr. THOMAS. They brought us in—they had what they called a new members' class at that time. You stayed in that class 2 or 3 weeks to learn some of the fundamental principles, as they were supposed to be, to the best of my knowledge.

Then I was assigned to a group in Georgetown. That has been quite a while ago and I am sorry that I can't remember the address, because I did not stay in that group very long, because they transferred me out of that group to the Young Communist League because of my age.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that group in Georgetown have a special name?

Mr. THOMAS. No, I don't think they had a special name. I don't think they had names then. Some of them may have had names. The nearest I can remember is a number. It was either 11 or 12; it was a high number, I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long do you think you remained in the Georgetown group?

Mr. THOMAS. I really couldn't say; I couldn't say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were members of the Georgetown group with you, if you can recall?

Mr. THOMAS. I will do the best I can on that one. I remember a West Indian, and his last name was Stevens; and one other fellow, his name was Jones. I can't piece that other part together. I was quite young then. I think I must have been 18 or 19 years old. I can't remember any others.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us any other information regarding Jones, as to where he was from and what he was doing at that time?

Mr. THOMAS. He was working in a hotel and was a member of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union. That is about all the information I can give you. I remember that because I asked him about a job during that time and he said he was going to try to see what he could do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us of your activities during the period that you were a member of the Young Communist League. Before doing so, are there any other persons whose names you can remember who were associated with you in the Georgetown group of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember that now. During this time, 1938, I was put into the Young Communist League, and I stayed there for a while, and then they transferred me into a new group that was being organized in Southwest called the Southwest branch of the Communist Party.

I can't tell you how many street-corner meetings we held down there. There was a series of them, and I was acting as chairman at most of those meetings that I can recall, because I was supposed to have been the organizer of the Southwest club of the Communist Party, which incidentally, was never successful; it died of its own weight.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if I can refresh your recollection about the meetings to which you refer. According to information in the committee files, the Young Communist League, on July 7, 1939, held an open-air meeting at Tenth and U Streets NW., Washington, D. C., at which you were alleged to have been the chairman.

Mr. THOMAS. I may have been the chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. The information in the committee files also indicates that you introduced a person known as Comrade Gilbert as a speaker, and identified him as a member of the Georgetown branch of the Communist Party. Do you recall that?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee files also disclose that after introducing Comrade Gilbert, you then introduced Martin Chancey as the city secretary of the Communist Party. Do you recall that?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. The same information shows that you introduced Eddie Felder, F-e-l-d-e-r, as a representative of the Young Communist League.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us about Eddie Felder, who he was and what his functions were?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe he was the secretary of the Young Communist League in the District of Columbia at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. THOMAS. No. I haven't seen him in several years.

Mr. TAVENNER. The same record shows that you introduced William Taylor as State chairman and member of the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. It couldn't have been State chairman, was it? He just had come in town. I remember that. I must have made a mistake in my announcement there, because I don't think he was State chairman at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember what position he gained in the Communist Party at a later date?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. He was secretary of the Communist Party in Washington, D. C., and he was also an officer in the State. I don't remember what office he held.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by the "State"?

(Hon. John McSweeney left hearing room.)

Mr. THOMAS. The State Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time was William Taylor secretary of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia or—did you say chairman of the State organization?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember him being chairman of the State organization, but he was an officer there. I don't remember exactly what office he held.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us some idea of the time when he held that position?

Mr. THOMAS. When he came into the District, he and Martin Chancey were here together. They were both officers of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia, and I know he was secretary of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia after the war, after the last war was over, but I think that he held the position opposite Martin Chancey; either he was chairman here in Washington or some other place, but he was one of the two top people in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. To how late a date did he hold that or other official position in the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. To the best of my knowledge until he went into the Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what became of him after that?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. He came back to Washington and was secretary of the Communist Party in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Again?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did he remain as an official of the Communist Party after he came back from the Army?

Mr. THOMAS. From 1946 until I believe it was the first part of 1949, or the middle of 1949. I can't exactly recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. THOMAS. The last time I heard from him he was in California.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what his job is in California?

Mr. THOMAS. I understand he went out there to be secretary of one of the districts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Both in my question and your answer he was referred to as William Taylor. Do you know whether he had a middle initial?

Mr. THOMAS. William C. Taylor.

Mr. TAVENNER. William C. Taylor?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to the fact that the efforts to organize the Southwest district unit or branch of the Communist Party was not completely successful. Did I understand you correctly?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has information that on May 6, 1938, there was a meeting of the Communist Party at K and First Streets SW., Washington, D. C. The chairman of this meeting was not identified. You were introduced by the chairman of this meeting as an organizer of the Southwest branch of the Communist Party. I believe you have already testified that you were such an organizer?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that the chairman at this meeting introduced an individual by the name of Edward H. Ozmun, O-z-m-u-n, as a speaker?

Mr. THOMAS. Edmund?

Mr. TAVENNER. Edward H. Ozmun, O-z-m-u-n.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. If he spoke at that meeting I think it is evident that he was a member. Of course I will have to say that I know he was a member if he spoke there, because only a Communist could speak at a Communist street rally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you at this time recall offhand the names of any other speakers at that Communist Party meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. One was Benny Secundy. He spoke once or twice.

Mr. TAVENNER. S-e-c-u-n-d-y?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe that is the way he spelled it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Describe him more definitely for the committee. What was his position or his occupation?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe he was an electrician at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether the chairman on this occasion introduced a speaker by the name of Calvin Cousin, C-o-u-s-i-n?

Mr. THOMAS. That is a long time to recall back, but if Calvin Cousin's name is there he was at that meeting, because he was one of the faithful Communists at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Though you have no independent recollection of his speaking on that occasion, you do know whether or not he is a Communist; is that what I understand?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is your answer to that, was he a Communist or not?

Mr. THOMAS. He was a Communist at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know?

Mr. THOMAS. Because I met with him on several occasions and he helped plan these meetings and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he held with a union in the District of Columbia at that time?

Mr. THOMAS. Not at that time. I knew he was working in a union, organizing the laundry workers or something, but I can't recall everything about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether he at any time became president of the Cleaners and Dyers Union of Washington, D. C.?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I believe it was during the war or a little before the war. I didn't see him during that period, but I saw him prior to that time and afterwards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were members of the southwest branch of the Communist Party with you?

Mr. THOMAS. As I told you before, the southwest club fell through. The people came in like coming through a revolving door; they just didn't stay. Some of the regular Communists were assigned to that group to have some numbers there. I think there were four or five of us altogether.

I may not be able to remember all the names right off here now. One fellow by the name of Dan O'Day was in that group. I believe Calvin Cousin was later assigned to that group, too. Of course myself. And I am not sure whether Benny Secundy was in that group or not, but I believe he was also given a definite assignment to help build up that club. And there may have been one or two others I can't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything about Dan O'Day at this time, where he is and what he is doing?

Mr. THOMAS. He dropped out of sight. I don't know what happened to him.

Mr. WALTER. Who gave these assignments?

Mr. THOMAS. The Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. Who?

Mr. THOMAS. I guess it must have been Martin Chancey or the City Committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. From whom did you receive your directions?

Mr. THOMAS. I got mine from Martin Chancey. I was told what to do by him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just what did he tell you to do?

Mr. THOMAS. He told me my job was to organize a branch of the Communist Party in southwest Washington and to make arrangements for a series of street meetings, and if I am not mistaken, gentlemen, I think these meetings consisted of discussing housing. I can't remember everything that was discussed, but I think housing was one of them, and some other problem that I can't remember now. There was a series of meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. This individual whose name was Calvin Cousin, do you know anything about his present whereabouts?

Mr. THOMAS. I haven't seen him in about a year and a half now, I understand he is in some kind of cleaning business for himself, but

I have never taken anything to his place, so I could not lead you there now. It is in town. He is in the cleaning business.

Mr. TAVENNER. See if you can identify any other persons who attended the meetings of the southwest branch.

Mr. THOMAS. I think William Gray attended one or two meetings, but he was not a regular member of that branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was William Gray known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you know that?

Mr. THOMAS. I met with him as a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he the same William Gray to whom you referred in your earlier testimony as being a steward of your local union?

Mr. THOMAS. Business agent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Business agent of your union?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to information in the files of the committee, a meeting was held of the southwest branch of the Communist Party on May 20, 1938. May 20. The other meeting to which I referred was May 6. The chairman was not identified at this meeting but you were introduced as one of the speakers, according to the committee's information. Is that correct or not?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't remember offhand just what happened back there, but I assume that it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were speaker at a number of these meetings, weren't you?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the committee's information there was an individual by the name of Tansel Butler introduced at this meeting, T-a-n-s-e-l Butler; do you recall him?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. He was a member of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he was from or where he had attended school?

Mr. THOMAS. I was told that he attended Howard University, but he got out of that school before I knew anything about him.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue your efforts with the organization of the southwest branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. If I attempted to answer that I think that I would make a wrong statement. I don't know exactly how long that attempt went on.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your next activity in the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. At that time I had a dual role, in the Young Communist League and in the Communist Party at the same time. I don't remember exactly where I went from there. I don't remember what the next step was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become affiliated with any other branch of the Communist Party? Were you assigned to any other group?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't remember that right off.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of a unit or branch of the Communist Party known as the Tom Paine branch?

Mr. THOMAS. That was the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was when you were in the Young Communist League?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this period of time when you say that you were active in the Young Communist League, were you a member of the Tom Paine branch?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us what branches of the Young Communist League there were in the city of Washington and immediate vicinity?

Mr. THOMAS. To the best of my knowledge there were three branches. One was Tom Paine; the student branch; and one they called the white-collar branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. The white-collar branch?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those are the three branches, the Tom Paine branch, the student branch—

Mr. THOMAS. They had two student branches at that time, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the names of the two branches?

Mr. THOMAS. They had one on the campus at Howard University and one at American University or George Washington, one of those. And the high-school students had one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us a little more in detail about the organization of those branches. Tell us all you know about them.

Mr. THOMAS. The white-collar branch was one branch they never did let us know who was in that branch. They were supposed to be secretaries, and so forth and so on, and clerks, but they didn't tell us about those people.

In the student branches they operated directly on the campus if there were enough students in the Young Communist League to compose a branch. I don't know how many people were in the Howard University branch; I don't know how many people were in the student branch; but to the best of my knowledge the Tom Paine branch had about 25.

Mr. KEARNEY. When was that?

Mr. THOMAS. About 1939.

Mr. KEARNEY. How many members were in that branch, did you say?

Mr. THOMAS. About 25.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did the Tom Paine branch hold its meetings?

Mr. THOMAS. 509 G Street NW., most of the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give that address again?

Mr. THOMAS. 509 G Street, on the third floor.

Mr. TAVENNER. What building was that?

Mr. THOMAS. It didn't have a name. It is right on the corner of Fifth and G Streets. I believe they call it Unity Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. While a member of the Young Communist League, did you attend meetings of any of the other branches other than the one you were a member of, the Tom Paine branch?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't recall. I may have gone to one of the student branches to give a lecture in my own little way. I think I did once.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall which branch that was?

Mr. THOMAS. That was the Howard University branch?

Mr. TAVENNER. At what other schools were these branches maintained?

Mr. THOMAS. As I said before, they had one at Howard and one at either George Washington or American University; I can't remember which one it was. It may have been a combined group. I didn't know too much about what they were doing out there.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke about a branch in a high school, if I understood you correctly?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us what you know about that.

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know too much about that, because they were the youngest members at that time in the Young Communist League, 16, 15, 14 years old, something like that; but they would come around occasionally to some parties and so on. That is the way I met them. They were the youngest set.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what high school in the city of Washington had that branch?

Mr. THOMAS. I remember Central. They had a high-school branch that was a combined branch for all the high schools. They didn't have too many in the high-school branch. Central was one high school that had two or three people in the branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how many were in the combined high-school branch?

Mr. THOMAS. No. I could make a guess.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wouldn't want you to guess unless you had some basis for an estimate.

Mr. THOMAS. I couldn't say right off. That was quite a while ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you acquainted with the organization work of the Young Communist League?

Mr. THOMAS. I was pretty well acquainted with it up to a point. I knew my own branch. I knew how it worked and how it functioned. And I was supposed to have been on a city committee of the Young Communist League set-up where all the branches sent a representative.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like you to tell us about that organizational set-up. You had these branches, about which you have testified; then you say there was a committee?

Mr. THOMAS. A central committee or city committee, where these branches would send a representative to meet once a week or every 2 weeks.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there officers of that central committee?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember the names of any of them?

Mr. THOMAS. Eddie Felder was the chairman, I believe. And there was a girl, Florence Plotnick I believe was her name; she was the secretary for some time.

Mr. TAVENNER. The selling of that is P-l-o-t-n-i-c-k?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any other members of the central committee of the Young Communist League?

Mr. THOMAS. If I had something to go on I could give them to you, but I can't remember because this thing never crossed my mind for a long time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position of any kind on this central committee of the Young Communist League?

Mr. THOMAS. I did once. I was supposed to have been the secretary, but I never really functioned as a secretary should have functioned, because there was a fight going on between myself and somebody else, but I did the best I could in that job.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt for a question?

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. When did you terminate your affiliation with the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. When I signed that Taft-Hartley affidavit.

Mr. MOULDER. When was that?

Mr. THOMAS. In 1949.

Mr. MOULDER. You were a Communist up until that date?

Mr. THOMAS. I called myself a Communist.

Mr. MOULDER. Sir?

Mr. THOMAS. I called myself a Communist.

Mr. MOULDER. The period of time you have referred to in your testimony as to the activity of the organization in the District of Columbia, what period of time did that cover?

Mr. THOMAS. This covered before I went into the Army. Is that right?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is right. I was beginning with the very beginning of your association.

Mr. MOULDER. When did you cease being an active Communist Party worker?

Mr. THOMAS. After we were placed in the untenable position of having to sign this affidavit.

Mr. MOULDER. Up to that time had you been attending Communist Party meetings?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Organization meetings and meetings of Communist Party workers?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember club meetings or anything like that, but there were other types of Communist Party meetings I attended.

Mr. MOULDER. You have named a number of people here. Do you know if they were Communists up until that date?

Mr. THOMAS. Some of them were.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know if they are now?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't believe any of them are now.

Mr. MOULDER. Are the people whose names you have mentioned colored or white people?

Mr. THOMAS. All the people I have mentioned in the union are colored, but what I am trying to remember now is who were the people in the beginning of this thing, and most of the people I am naming now are white people.

Mr. MOULDER. Were your activities in the Communist Party confined to colored people?

Mr. THOMAS. Most were colored people.

Mr. WALTER. Was it necessary for you to maintain your membership in the Communist Party in order to keep your position in the union?

Mr. THOMAS. Sir, that is a question I don't know exactly how to answer, because once you get tied up in this mess you are a little afraid to just break completely, unless you are assured of protection.

Mr. KEARNEY. Have you attended any Communist Party meetings since 1949?

Mr. THOMAS. Since 1949? To the best of my knowledge I haven't, but I will have this statement now, I have met with certain leaders of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you sign the affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, but I was not a member; I did not pay dues or assessments or anything.

Mr. KEARNEY. What were you meeting with the leaders of the Communist Party for, to talk over Communist activities?

Mr. THOMAS. Generally speaking.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I might state that that is of importance in the development of the circumstances surrounding the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavit, which we expect eventually to develop.

Mr. WALTER. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time you were connected with the Young Communist League, and particularly while you served as secretary of the central committee, did you receive, or did the central committee receive, directions as to the Communist Party line from any higher sources?

Mr. THOMAS. Very definitely. We received, I would call it our instructions, from the city secretary. Whenever there was a question of somebody going off the deep end, so to speak, the city secretary would always come in and straighten it out. He would come in a meeting and lay the line down that was to be followed.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you active in the Young Communist League?

Mr. THOMAS. For several years; in fact, up until I went into the Army. I was in both the Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you affiliate with any particular branch of the Communist Party other than the Young Communist League before you went into the Army?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. I was in two or three branches. I was shifted around quite a bit, to the best of my knowledge, during that period. One was unit No. 1. I stayed there for a while. I am not sure, but I think we organized the Frederick Douglas club of laborers, but we never could get over two or three or four or five laborers in that club. This is the club I was in when I was inducted into the Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like at this time for you to tell us how many branches or cells of the Communist Party you were acquainted with in the District of Columbia, and I think for the purpose of answering that question you should consider your knowledge after you came back from the Army as well as before you went in. How many cells or branches of the Communist Party were you acquainted with in the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't give you a figure right off on that. As I said before, I could give a guess on that.

Mr. MOULDER. You mean existing at one time, or covering the whole period of time?

Mr. TAVENNER. Covering the whole period of time.

Mr. THOMAS. That is covering quite a bit of ground there.

Mr. WALTER. To the best of your knowledge.

Mr. THOMAS. I was acquainted with about six, I think; six or seven.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names and descriptions of them, and their locations, as nearly as you can?

Mr. THOMAS. The first I remember was in Georgetown, out around Twenty-sixth Street. It was in an apartment building.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the one you referred to in the beginning of your testimony?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. That is No. 12. Just what the duties were and so on, I don't remember that. That was the Georgetown branch.

Then there was the Southwest branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. What was the number of that?

Mr. THOMAS. That didn't have a number, because it wasn't really organized. They just called it the Southwest branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the one you testified that you attempted to organize?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Then they had a big one in town that was No. 1, I believe, unit No. 1.

Mr. TAVENNER. Suppose you tell us what you know about unit No. 1?

Mr. THOMAS. Unit No. 1 had mostly colored in it, and it was during some campaign, I remember very well, they recruited a very large number of colored people into this branch.

Mr. WALTER. What was the campaign about? Housing?

Mr. THOMAS. No. I think this campaign was about police brutality at that time. It was a very hot subject in Washington at that time.

Mr. HARRISON. What kind of brutality?

Mr. THOMAS. Police brutality.

Mr. MOULDER. When was that?

Mr. THOMAS. In the period between 1940 and 1941. This branch was in the midtown section, and they had an opportunity to bring many Negroes into the Communist Party at that time. After this thing died down it kept on being a revolving door; they came in and went right out.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the membership of that unit?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't say. I didn't have charge of the records. It must have had 50 people in it at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. What other branches, to your knowledge?

Mr. THOMAS. I was in one branch all during the time I was in the Communist Party after I came out of the Army, so that settles that end of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of that branch?

Mr. THOMAS. The Frederic Douglas Branch.

Mr. WALTER. You described the membership as being like a revolving door. Did the membership fall off because the members came into an appreciation of the fact that the lofty purposes the members were told could be achieved through communism could not be accomplished?

Mr. THOMAS. I didn't understand it at that time, and I think if I had been one of the people who made that revolving door I would be better off. I understand it now.

Mr. WALTER. They know the Communist Party can't accomplish anything in the United States?

Mr. THOMAS. It is evident to me now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any other branches or cells of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I can recall the names, but there is very little I know about them. They had the White Collar Branch. They had some super, super, secret branch of employees in the Government that a guy like me couldn't know anything about. We heard talk about it occasionally. And there was a Petworth Branch, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that? Petworth?

Mr. THOMAS. Petworth; yes. Then they had Stanton Park, Southeast Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Southeast?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say Stanton?

Mr. THOMAS. Stanton Park. I don't know if that was the same as Southeast, but I don't think it was the same.

Then there was the Northeast Club.

Mr. MOULDER. You made a statement about a branch of Government employees. That is important. Do you personally know any member of the Communist Party at that time who was employed in any branch of the Government?

Mr. THOMAS. Sir, that is one of the things they really kept secret. I may have known somebody working in the Government who was a Communist, but they didn't let us know it.

Mr. MOULDER. To the best of your knowledge you don't know of a single person, then?

Mr. THOMAS. To the best of my knowledge I can't recall anybody working for the Government at that time who was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. Then there was a West End Branch of the Communist Party. There is a difference between Georgetown and West End. I don't think West End is considered in Georgetown. It was on the edge of Georgetown.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the type of organization established above that of the branches, and to which the branches were responsible.

Mr. THOMAS. The city committee. They had an organizational set-up—I wouldn't want to get twisted up on this thing. They had a city committee where all the branches were supposed to have been represented. Then they had an organizational secretary who had meetings with the various secretaries from the different branches. That is what I recall.

Mr. WALTER. How many people attended the city committee meetings?

Mr. THOMAS. It would vary from time to time. I remember at one time they only had about 8 people on the city committee, and at another time they had 20 or 25 people on the city committee.

Mr. WALTER. If they had 25 people, that would indicate there were 25 branches of the Communist Party in the city at that time?

Mr. THOMAS. Not necessarily. The branches would have proportional representation; the more members you have, the more people you would have representing you on this city committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall knowing a branch known as the Thomas Jefferson Branch?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I recall that name of a branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the Abraham Lincoln Branch being the name of one of the branches of the Communist Party in the District?

Mr. THOMAS. That must have been one that slipped my mind. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of organization was there above that of the city committee, which the city committee in turn was responsible to?

Mr. THOMAS. The State committee. That was the Maryland-D. C. State committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that there was a district composed of the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether there was a Northwest Branch of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. There was?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. While we are discussing these branches in a general way, did you become acquainted with the organization in the State of Maryland in any way, with the branches?

Mr. THOMAS. No. I used to hear the names of branches called when I was at the State committee, but it was a little foreign to me. I remember one branch in particular was the Dundalk Turner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give that name again?

Mr. THOMAS. Dundalk Turner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that located; do you know?

Mr. THOMAS. I think in the Dundalk Turner neighborhood. I don't know too much about Baltimore or where that is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know any other names of branches, such as the Professional Branch?

Mr. THOMAS. I heard of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have heard of the Professional Branch?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you at this time recall any other branches?

Mr. THOMAS. They had one White Collar Branch, but the Professional Branch may have been the same as the White Collar Branch, you see.

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not recall whether you said you were a member of the Frederic Douglas Branch before you went into the Army or not?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe that was the branch that we were in, the laborers were in, that were working in local 74 and any other union around town.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that prior to your going into the Army, or afterward?

Mr. THOMAS. That was just before I went into the Army. I can't recall if it was the Frederic Douglas Club then or just a laborers' club.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go in the United States Army?

Mr. THOMAS. August 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long were you in the Army?

Mr. THOMAS. Twenty-eight months.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you discharged?

Mr. THOMAS. December 6, 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were in the service, did you continue any of your Communist Party activities?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I didn't.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Tavenner, I would like to direct a few questions to the witness at this point.

You mentioned the Professional Branch. Did you know any of the members of the Professional Branch?

Mr. THOMAS. I knew one lawyer.

Mr. WALTER. Who was he?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't say I knew him. I have seen him. That was in Baltimore, you are talking about?

Mr. WALTER. I am talking about the District of Columbia.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh! That is different. Sir, right off I can't remember those people.

Mr. WALTER. Were there any lawyers who advised people when they got into difficulties, who were retained by the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, sir, since I didn't get into no trouble, that question didn't crop up as far as I am concerned. I really don't know. I was never in any trouble where I needed a lawyer.

Mr. WALTER. You discussed a group that had its start because of police brutality. Weren't there lawyers retained at that time?

Mr. THOMAS. I remember one case where a group of people got locked up at the German Embassy—in 1938, I believe—and at that time they used the Civil Liberties Union lawyer.

Mr. WALTER. Was the Civil Liberties Union lawyer paid by the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, sir, I don't know.

Mr. HARRISON. May I ask some questions along that line?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. Who are the attorneys for local 74?

Mr. THOMAS. Jenkins and Mr. Levine.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Levine?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Samuel Levine.

Mr. HARRISON. What is the name of the other gentleman?

Mr. THOMAS. Howard Jenkins.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you know whether either of them is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I really don't know.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you know if either of them is a member of the National Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe both are members of the National Lawyers' Guild.

Mr. MOULDER. You mentioned a white-collar branch of the Communist Party in Washington. Can you give us the names of any members of that branch?

Mr. THOMAS. Sir, I wish I could help you. I wouldn't want to make any mistake about that. But if any names are called, I could identify them.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think the record should show some further facts relating to the two attorneys whose names you have mentioned. Did you at any time confer with either of those attorneys about appearing here before this committee and testifying?

Mr. THOMAS. I conferred with both of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. With both of them?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. THOMAS. Right after I got this subpoena.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you happen to go see those two attorneys?

Mr. THOMAS. I called them and told them I had a subpoena and wanted to talk to them about it. The first one I went to was Mr. Levine. Mr. Levine didn't know what position I was going to take on this whole matter, and he said, "The only thing you can do is go down and tell the truth to the best of your knowledge," and he referred me—he didn't refer me to another lawyer, but another lawyer had called him. Then I went to see this other lawyer. Then I called Mr. Jenkins and I talked to Mr. Jenkins, and I told him part of the story, then I went back and told him the rest of the story. The only advice he gave me was to go on down and tell the truth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you gotten in touch with this third lawyer whose name you did not mention before he called Mr. Levine?

Mr. THOMAS. I called him; yes. He wanted to see me because my wife had called him. He had been her attorney on some small matters, and she called him and he called for me, and I called him back and we both went up to see him, and we discussed the subject of our appearing before the committee, and, as you see, I have no attorney with me here now, and I don't think I need one, because I am going to tell the truth, and my friends have told me that is the best thing to do.

Mr. HARRISON. You think if you tell the truth you don't need an attorney?

Mr. THOMAS. I think that is the way it stacks up.

Mr. HARRISON. This third lawyer didn't solicit you? You solicited his advice?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to ask you another question about your activities in the Communist Party before you went into the Army. Did you attend a Communist Party school of any character before you went into the Army?

Mr. THOMAS. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the school?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember what they called it now. It was one of those advanced training schools, I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was it located?

Mr. THOMAS. Within New York City on One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Street, right off Seventh Avenue. That is where they conducted classes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can't you recall the name of it?

Mr. THOMAS. What—the school?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. It was a series of classes. It wasn't a school as such. They rented this place to conduct these classes in.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you selected to attend that school, or what were the circumstances under which you went there?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, they thought that I was a good prospect for some day becoming a professional revolutionary, I guess, and they selected me on that basis. That is a term that is used quite frequently for full-time Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who selected you and how was that done?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, the order came down for two or three students from the District to go to this school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Came down—

Mr. THOMAS. From New York, that this school was being planned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Came down to what group?

Mr. THOMAS. To the officers of the Communist Party in the District. I guess it came through channels and it got down to the city committee, and then they discussed prospects to go to the school, and maybe I appeared to be promising, I don't know, and they picked me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who picked you, do you know?

Mr. THOMAS. Martin Chancey was one. He was the guy who had the last say about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who advised you that you had been chosen to go?

Mr. THOMAS. He did.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go? When was the school held?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't remember what month it was. It was in the fall of the year. It was in 1940, because I remember I registered for the draft in New York at that time. I was in school when I registered for the draft.

Mr. KEARNEY. Who paid your expenses?

Mr. THOMAS. The Communist Party.

Mr. KEARNEY. The District Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many attended this school?

Mr. THOMAS. That would be hard to say right now. I imagine about 20.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you there? How long did the course take?

Mr. THOMAS. Six weeks.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give me the names of any of the 20 who attended that school with you in 1940?

Mr. THOMAS. I will give you the name of one person that I know now, but that has been quite a long time ago and I can't remember them now, because I haven't seen but a few since then, and I haven't seen any since I came back from the Army.

James Jackson went to school with me at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. James Jackson?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was he from?

Mr. THOMAS. He was from Alabama, I believe, working in the Southern Negro Youth Congress at that time. Subsequently he was made a Communist Party organizer in Michigan, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he white or colored?

Mr. THOMAS. He was colored.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there both colored and white at this school?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. It was a mixed school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any others who attended?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't want to appear as a reluctant witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want you to be certain when you testify that you are correct.

Mr. THOMAS. I know about Jackson. I know that. But the other people, it would be a guess right now. I would have to refresh my memory and I would have to have something to go on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the other students from, as far as you could tell, what section of the country?

Mr. THOMAS. Pretty much from all over the eastern seaboard and as far west as Chicago, as far as I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the instructors at this school, if you recall the names of any of them?

Mr. THOMAS. One was George Siskin.

Mr. TAVENNER. George Siskin?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is the school in 1940 that you are talking about?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right. And "Pop" Mindel, they called him. His subject was dialectical materialism. I will never forget that.

Mr. KEARNEY. What was that?

Mr. THOMAS. Dialectical materialism.

Mr. TAVENNER. A rather deep subject?

Mr. THOMAS. It was a little too deep for me.

Mr. TAVENNER. The person referred to as "Pop" Mindel is the same as Jacob Mindel, M-i-n-d-e-l?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know. He has always been referred to in my papers as "Pop" Mindel. I never knew his first name.

Mr. TAVENNER. What age man was he?

Mr. THOMAS. He was an old man. I guess he was approaching 70 the last time I saw him.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when was that?

Mr. THOMAS. When I was at the last school.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in 1946?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the names of any others?

Mr. THOMAS. Who were instructors in that school?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Carl Ross.

Mr. TAVENNER. Carl Ross?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. Abner Berry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Carl Ross was from?

Mr. THOMAS. He was secretary of the national committee of the Young Communist League. I think he was secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was an officer of the national committee of the Young Communist League?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Abner Berry?

Mr. THOMAS. He was an organizer for the Communist Party in Harlem, I believe, at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of others? First, can you identify George Siskin more definitely for the committee?

Mr. THOMAS. All I know about him, he is a very good talker. I have seen him on several occasions around these schools when I attended. In fact, he was in charge of that first school I attended, and he seemed to know his stuff. I mean, he knows how to put over whatever he wants to say. He is very good at that. He is a middle-aged man, about 50, maybe 55. I don't know whether he was an alien or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us any further information about the person referred to by you as "Pop" Mindel?

Mr. THOMAS. That is all I can tell you, except he is supposed to have two daughters in New York who are open members of the Communist Party. I never met them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other persons who assisted in the instruction at that school whose names you can recall?

Mr. THOMAS. There were more there, but I can't recall them. I think practically the whole national committee of the Communist Party was down there at one time or another.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were you told was the reason for your being sent to this school?

Mr. THOMAS. To understand the theories of Marx and Lenin and Stalin. That is how it was put, to understand something about the Communist Party and the Communist movement. That is the way it was put to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you advised what use would be made of the teachings of those persons—Marx, Lenin, and Stalin?

(Hon. Morgan M. Moulder left hearing room.)

Mr. THOMAS. The intention, when you go to one of those schools, you have to be pretty good material to become a professional revolutionary, a person who is going to work only in the interest of promoting socialism.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee what course of instruction was given you, as nearly as you can.

Mr. THOMAS. We had American history, and we had Russian history. I think one of the textbooks we used on American history was by Mary Beard, Mary and Charles Beard, something like that. I saw one of the books not so long ago.

The Negro question in the United States was discussed. There were quite a few subjects discussed—Political Economy and Capital, by Karl Marx. I have always tried to understand what I read in that book, but it is kind of hard to read.

Mr. WALTER. It is more difficult to believe.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I don't know what is wrong with it, but I could never read over a couple pages of it before I would be asleep.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything more you can tell us about that school or the conduct of that school that would be of interest to the committee?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't remember right off. If I had something to refresh my memory.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke several times of being trained as a revolutionary. What did you mean by that?

Mr. THOMAS. Just what it says. I have been in the Communist Party and around it since 1937, and this word is one of the bywords, "professional revolutionary." You become a professional revolu-

tionary and sever all ties with family, church, all institutions that would in any way tie you down and prevent you from going from one place to another at any time you are ordered to go. You were at the command of the Communist Party. That is all you worked for. That is what you lived for.

That is my understanding of what a professional revolutionary is. Your mother means nothing; your father means nothing; your brothers and sisters or anybody else mean anything.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you were subject to the total discipline of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. The files of the committee reflect that prior to your going into the Army you were present at a Communist Party convention held on March 14, 1943, at the Whitelaw Hotel, Thirteenth and T Streets NW., Washington, D. C., and that you were chairman of the second session of this convention, and that at the third session you were elected to the executive committee of the Communist Party in Washington.

Is that information correct?

Mr. THOMAS. To the best of my knowledge it is. I will say that it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give to the committee the names of any other delegates who attended that convention?

Mr. THOMAS. I think except for the people you already have in the record that I have mentioned, there are very few more that I could give you right off. It is hard to remember names back that far when you lose contact with those people.

I would like to make this statement: When I came back from the Army there were a lot of people I never met again. They had a general house-cleaning or something while I was away. There was this Browder fight, and a lot were dropped out and a lot quit, and a lot of people I have never met since then, and it would be hard for me to remember who those people were.

Mr. TAVENNER. Back during the time that you were active in the Young Communist League, did you become acquainted with a young man by the name of Anderson?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his first name?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember his first name. He is the same Anderson, I believe, who enlisted in the Marines and was killed overseas. He was the son of John P. Anderson. I heard that he was killed overseas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know his mother's name? You said his father's name was John.

Mr. THOMAS. I don't think she was his mother. She was his step-mother. Rose Anderson. I have heard of her. I have never seen that woman in my life to know her.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his affiliation, if any, with the Young Communist League?

Mr. THOMAS. He was just a member of the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand you to say you did not continue your Communist Party activities while you were in the Army?

Mr. THOMAS. No. I heard from some of the people. They wrote to me and sent me books and so forth and so on. But I love my record in the Army. I did a job in the Army, and that is what I thought I should do.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were in the Army, did you meet persons you knew to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, I did. I met Henry Winston, who was in a company that was stationed not too far from ours. And Bob Campbell was also in that battalion. I don't know if he was in the company or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the same Henry Winston who was convicted as one of the 11 Communists on trial in New York?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Identify this second individual more definitely, Bob Campbell.

Mr. THOMAS. Robert Campbell was originally from Harlem, and was subsequently transferred out to take over a small district in Ohio.

Mr. TAVENNER. Take it over in what capacity?

Mr. THOMAS. As an officer, secretary or chairman or something. I know he was sent out there as the organizer for that section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Communist Party organizer?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were these two individuals, or either of them, actively engaged in work for the Communist Party while in the Army, as far as you know?

Mr. THOMAS. Not as far as I know. I used to discuss with them old times and so forth, but we never discussed any Communist Party activities as such in the Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you serve while in the Army?

Mr. THOMAS. In the European theater, mostly in France.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you have stated that you were discharged on December 6, 1945?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you then return to the city of Washington?

Mr. THOMAS. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long was it after your return before you became affiliated again with the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I will be safe in saying it was within a month. It was within a month.

Mr. WALTER. The hearing will recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m., Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.)

Mr. WALTER. The committee will come to order. Mr. Tavenner, you may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY THOMAS—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Thomas, you were asked the question this morning by the chairman as to the names of the persons in the professional group who were known to you as members of the Com-

munist Party, and you started to tell us about an attorney in Baltimore; in fact, you said you knew the name of one person there, an attorney.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that person a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. THOMAS. I have seen him in some meetings, Communist meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which the meetings were held? What type of meetings were they?

Mr. THOMAS. State committee meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. State committee meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was such a meeting open to persons who were not members of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the person to whom you referred?

Mr. THOMAS. All I knew at one time was Maurice, but since I have learned that it was Maurice Braverman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Braverman?

Mr. THOMAS. Braverman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the spelling of it?

Mr. THOMAS. B-r-a-v-e-r-m-a-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. B-r-a-v-e-r-m-a-n?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was asking about your return from the Army and your reaffiliation with the Communist Party at the noon recess. Will you tell us now the circumstances under which you reaffiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I received my discharge on the 6th of December 1945, and the first couple of days I was out, of course, I was around the house and rested, and so on, and after that I made my first contact with Mary Stalcup.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mary who?

Mr. THOMAS. Stalcup.

Mr. TAVENNER. S-t-a-l-c-u-p?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right. To the best of my knowledge she was the secretary or the treasurer of the Communist Party for the District of Columbia at that time. I contacted her to find out the whereabouts of Elizabeth Searle, who was the leader of the Communist Party when I got out of the Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you spell her name S-e-a-r-l-e?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right. I arranged to meet her in the office of the Communist Party and I discussed with her the question of coming back into the Communist Party and she accepted my application and I was back in again.

Mr. MOULDER. What is the date of that, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. I really don't know, sir. Dates are a little mixed up. I cannot remember whether it was December or January.

Mr. MOULDER. Of what year?

Mr. THOMAS. 1945 or 1946; it was in those years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have checked again with the record and for the committee's information I merely wanted to state that

Mr. Maurice Louis Braverman appeared before this committee as a witness and declined to answer questions relating to his alleged Communist Party membership.

Now will you proceed?

Mr. THOMAS. After I was accepted into the Communist Party I was told to organize a branch of the Communist Party consisting of some of the fellows who were in with me before I went into the Army, if I could find them, and any new person that would want to come into the Communist Party; in other words, to build a branch of the Communist Party, a new branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then tell just what occurred?

Mr. THOMAS. At that time Chambers, Ernest Chambers, was discharged from the Army and I got together with him, William Gray, my wife, Gladys Thomas, and I believe at that time Norris Hammond. I am not certain whether he came at that time or not, but he subsequently was in that club, I know, and those are the people who formed this club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the president of the club?

Mr. THOMAS. I was the chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the club?

Mr. THOMAS. At that time it was just the Laborer's Club.

(Hon. Burr P. Harrison entered hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Tom Sampler a member of that club?

Mr. THOMAS. Subsequently he was a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with Tom Sampler prior to his coming into the club regarding his proposed membership?

Mr. THOMAS. I did. We had a series of discussions on it and, if I am permitted, I would like to go into those circumstances around that particular case.

I met Tom Sampler, I believe it was, the 8th of January at the union hall for the first time to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Union hall of what union?

Mr. THOMAS. Of local union 74, the union that I am presently the president of, and we did not discuss anything about communism then or anything else. He had been a part of this rank and file committee that was set up in the union to clean out the racketeers, and so forth and so on, while I was in the Army. I did not know him before I met him in January of 1946. It went on; we were very close friends and we would talk about different things and he joined the Socialist Party. I do not know what his reasons for joining the Socialist Party were, but he joined the Socialist Party sometime, I believe, in 1946 and he told me about it. I had literature and letters and so forth, around my house and he used to come over to my house and he would read this material and also read my mail and different things and he thought that we had some kind of a secret organization or something that he wanted to get into, so he asked me about it, and the discussion went on for some time between the two of us of whether or not he was going to become a Communist or not. I suspected his attitude as not being what I thought a person who wanted to be a Communist should be, so I told him to go and talk to Bill Taylor. I believe this was in 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Bill Taylor the same person as William C. Taylor?

Mr. THOMAS. William C. Taylor. At that time he was chairman of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia.

He went and talked to William Taylor and I think he had a couple of conferences with him and I was with him on one of those occasions and I told him to see Taylor for the purpose of letting Taylor straighten him out on some things that he did not understand. He came back with the membership card of the Communist Party from Taylor. I do not remember whether I signed his card or not. I do not remember whether I signed it, but I do know that I sent him back with this card to Bill Taylor to tell him to turn it over to Bill Taylor, and those are the circumstances around that—Sampler coming into the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was it that that occurred?

Mr. THOMAS. This was in 1947, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you organized this new group of the Communist Party, you were then a member of the local union of which you are now the president?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any office in the union at that time, in 1946?

Mr. THOMAS. I was elected as vice president to fill an unexpired term of one of the officers who had been killed in an accident.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a Communist at the time you were elected to that position of vice president?

Mr. THOMAS. I was

Mr. TAVENNER. But at the time you became a Communist or re-affiliated with the Communist Party, you were not then an officer of that union?

Mr. THOMAS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Sampler an officer of the union at the time he united with your group of the Communist Party or was he a member of the union?

Mr. THOMAS. He was a member of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. But not an officer at the time he joined your Communist group?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not believe he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of William Gray. Is that the same person as William McKinley Gray?

Mr. THOMAS. No. This is William Gray.

Mr. TAVENNER. William Gray. Was William Gray a member of your union at the time that he came into your cell of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he hold any official position at that time or was he merely a rank and file member?

Mr. THOMAS. He was not an officer.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was not an officer?

Mr. THOMAS. No, he was not an officer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you named any other persons who became member of that group with you in 1946? You have mentioned the names, I believe, of several who later became affiliated with your group?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give their names again—any of them that I have not just mentioned?

Mr. THOMAS. Suppose I give the names of all of them that were in the group, as far as I can remember, from 1946 up until it disbanded. How would that be?

Mr. TAVENNER. That would be all right.

Mr. THOMAS. There was Henry Thomas, William Gray, Gladys Thomas, Thomas G. Sampler, Norris Hammond, Ernest Chambers, McKinley Gray, Leroy Coad.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the last one?

Mr. THOMAS. Leroy Coad.

Mr. TAVENNER. C-o-a-d?

Mr. THOMAS. C-o-a-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leroy Coad?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. And Thomas Waller.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any others now?

Mr. THOMAS. I cannot think of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Roy Wood?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, I know Roy Wood.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member?

Mr. THOMAS. He was attached to it. He was attached to that club.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many of these persons were members of your local union?

Mr. THOMAS. All of the men that I called except Roy Wood.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Robert Paul also a member of your group of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. No. I do not believe Robert Paul was even in town then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any of these persons whose names you have just given us, those who were members of your cell of the Communist Party, officials of your union at the time they joined the party, or did some of them become officials after they joined the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. To the best of my knowledge, all of them became officials after they joined the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the committee any reason for that?

Mr. THOMAS. I will do the best I can. This club was set up for the primary purpose of recruiting members from the union into the Communist Party, and if a person came into the Communist Party who had any qualifications for holding office, of course these people were encouraged to run for office and to seek to win.

Mr. TAVENNER. Encouraged by whom?

Mr. THOMAS. Encouraged by the Communist Party, by the Communist Party leadership, whoever it happened to be. During that period of time I think there were three or four people who were in leadership in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how successful were the efforts of the Communist Party to have the members of this cell elected into official positions in your union?

Mr. THOMAS. Sir, I think that is self-evident, if any organization wanted to have its policies adopted, and so on, in another organization, it would infiltrate that organization and seek to keep posts and positions of influence.

Mr. WALTER. How many officials were there in the union?

Mr. THOMAS. You mean belonging to the Communist Party?

Mr. WALTER. No, in all.

Mr. THOMAS. Sir, as near as I can get it, there were 17 positions open.

Mr. WALTER. How many of those were filled by Communists?

Mr. THOMAS. I can name them off to you. Maybe then we can get some place. Myself, Sampler—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the position that each occupied?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, yes. Henry Thomas, president. Ernest Chambers, vice president. Thomas G. Sampler, secretary-treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were the key posts, were they not?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. Norris Hammond, sergeant at arms.

(Hon. John McSweeney entered hearing room.)

Mr. THOMAS. William Gray, business agent.

Those are the Communists who were in leadership at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. That means that all the members of your cell became officers of prominence in your union with the exception of Leroy Coad and Waller?

Mr. THOMAS. McKinley Gray, I left him out. He was a member of the executive board for one term, but I did not consider myself a Communist when he was elected.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then that means there were only two members of your cell who were not officials at one time or another of this particular union other than Roy Wood, who was not a member of your union?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned your wife, Gladys, as being a member of this same cell. Did she have any position with the union?

Mr. THOMAS. She was bookkeeper there for a while.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee just how this cell of the Communist Party functioned in connection with the official position of the members in the union? I do not know if I made that question plain.

Mr. THOMAS. I think I understand what you mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. I will start off by saying this, that not knowing just what we were into, we could only think in terms of the interests of the membership and the things we could do to help them, and so forth, and so on, but when we made a decision in that club to do something, we would fight and organize the members to fight for our position. When we were officers, of course, we would get our heads together and decide what we wanted to do and we just about would do it in practically every case. Where there were two people, if Sampler and I decided to do something in that union, it was done, and that was the way we operated. The other people just naturally fell in line. It was only when we disagreed that the other people did not know which side to fall on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have regular meetings of this cell of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. We had regular meetings about 4 or 5 months after we were elected the first time in 1948, and we would make decisions in those meetings, but unless Sampler or myself pushed it, nothing

was really done about it. We were the people who decided what party line would be followed in that union and which one would not be followed in that union, the two of us together.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the membership of the local union?

Mr. THOMAS. The total membership?

Mr. TAVENNER. Of 74.

Mr. THOMAS. At that time the membership was about 1,500.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the rank and file of the membership know that you, as its president, were a member of the Communist Party at the time of the election?

Mr. THOMAS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or that Chambers, the vice president, was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. They did not know that any of them were members of the Communist Party with the exception of maybe a few people around there who knew.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any effort made to keep that information secret from the rank and file of the membership?

Mr. THOMAS. We tried every trick in the book to keep it away from them.

Mr. TAVENNER. In determining what the party line should be, that is, the Communist Party line, were you consulted by persons superior to you in the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, we had discussions with the leaders of the Communist Party both in the District of Columbia and on the state-wide scale.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee about those occasions, how they came about and how it was done.

Mr. THOMAS. I think I can make it much clearer by citing some examples.

If there was going to be a convention or conference in some part of the country, word would come down from the national headquarters of the Communist Party to get as many unions and other organizations as possible to send delegates and representatives. This information was transferred to us either at the city committee meeting or if I was not at the city committee meeting they would be brought to me by the responsible officer in charge of the Communist Party or someone that he would send to me with this information. Basing our arguments on the justification for the conference in the union, we were successful in having the union to elect delegates to various conferences that had been called over a period of 2 or 3 years.

I do not know whether I made myself clear or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I think you have.

Mr. THOMAS. But that is the way it worked.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you imparted to the rank and file of the membership the same views and party lines that had been handed down to you from your superiors in the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did that continue?

Mr. THOMAS. That continued on an organized scale until the first part of 1949 or I would say the last part of 1948. Then a new system, of course, was worked out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about the new system.

Mr. THOMAS. This club had disintegrated during this time and we were not attending meetings so there was no way for us to hear a report of this type concentrated, so arrangements were made to meet people at places, have people come down to the hall at times, and I guess the way it was arranged, it was arranged in individual meetings. Sometimes they would seek me out, and I was getting tired of it at this time. Of course I was kind of getting tired of being seen in the company with these people and I stopped seeking them out and they started seeking me out after a certain period, but it would always get this information coming from the top and let it come right on down to the bottom and it would end up in the rank and file. This is the way it was. Individuals would come to me and tell me what they wanted or tell Sampler what to do, and Sampler and I would get together and we would influence the executive board to our way of thinking and the executive board would recommend it to the membership and it would go over. That was very simple.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were those individuals who imparted the party line to you and to Sampler?

Mr. THOMAS. Philip Frankfeld, the chairman of the Maryland Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Philip Frankfeld; is that correct? F-r-a-n-k-f-e-l-d?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe that is the way you spell his name.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Chairman of the Maryland-District of Columbia Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean the head of the district comprised of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. That is correct, and he would see me and William C. Taylor would see me and talk to me or talk to Sampler and me together or talk to Sampler and then Sampler would tell me what was said. It was very seldom they would talk to any of the lesser officers or any of the other people there unless it was to bring a message to us. I would say that the rest of the people were messengers for Sampler and I more or less. They would tell us what to do and we would tell them what to do and they would go ahead and do it. That is just the way it worked out.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to Roy Wood as being one of the members of your Communist branch or cell but that he was not a member of your union. I believe you said he was attached to your branch.

Mr. THOMAS. He was assigned to it, and I wanted to go into that, too, because I think it is very important.

When he was assigned, he came over here to take over William C. Taylor's position. William C. Taylor was leaving for California, I believe, at that time, and as soon as he came in the door and the word was spoken that he was to be assigned to that club, then my wife and Bill Taylor got into a big fight. I do not think we even had a meeting because she objected strenuously to his coming in. She will have to tell you the reasons. We could not meet at my house any more after that. We had to find some other place to meet.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other places did you meet than your house from 1946 on?

Mr. THOMAS. We met at Thomas Sampler's house. We met at Ernest Chambers' house. We met one time in Thomas Waller's apart-

ment at the Dunbar Hotel. Then I think we ran out of places to meet and we met in an automobile one night because it was a little too cold to go to a park.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever meet in the union hall?

Mr. THOMAS. We attempted to meet there once. I remember we were not too successful in meeting there because there were too many people coming in and out of the place. We attempted to meet there one time and I think we got about halfway through our meeting and realized we could not meet there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Continuing with your description of Roy Wood, what position was it that he held in the Communist Party after William C. Taylor left for the west coast?

Mr. THOMAS. If my memory serves me right, he was elected chairman of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that for the city of Washington?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who occupies that position now?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I do not. I guess he does. The last I read about it in the paper, he was the chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. At these Communist Party meetings which you have described, did you have Communist Party literature for distribution to the members?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, we did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was that handled?

Mr. THOMAS. I guess what you might call in the Army the Table of Organization, we were supposed to have had a director who would contact the secretary of the Communist Party and obtain this literature and be responsible to the club, but I remember I handled most of it and there were two or three other people handling it. It was a very worrisome job and nobody wanted it because there was a lot of trouble to it and you had to keep track of money. I handled it for a while myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who collected the dues?

Mr. THOMAS. The dues were collected through the secretary which was my wife for quite a while, and after this fight took place between my wife and William C. Taylor, and over several matters, she quit. She decided to quit and we had to find somebody else, so we elected Norris Hammond, but he never really served in that capacity. He was not able to fill that job and I also had to do that, too, and the whole thing finally ended up on my shoulders.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type meetings did you hold besides those you have already described?

Mr. THOMAS. You mean the club?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. The regular club meetings. I might not follow what you want.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have guest lecturers there at any time?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, yes. Some of the leading officials of the Communist Party of the city would come down and lecture to us and lead discussions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us who some of those people were.

Mr. THOMAS. I was just trying to remember one. I was trying to think of him the other day. I have not thought of the name, unfor-

tunately, yet, but I know the leaders of the Communist Party came down. Bill Taylor led several discussions. I cannot recall exactly who it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember a person by the name of James Branca?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, yes. Yes; I remember him.

Mr. TAVENNER. James Pasquale Branca?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I remember him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he attend your branch meeting at any time?

Mr. THOMAS. Let me answer that this way, so that I can be on safe ground. I am quite certain that he did but it kind of escapes me right now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, he is a member of the Communist Party. He was. I don't know what he is now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever attended a lecture given by him?

Mr. THOMAS. I have heard him speak many times. Just a plain lecture, I do not know exactly what you mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will not draw the distinction between a speech and a lecture.

Do you know Ray Pinkson?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, I know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a lecture or were you present at a speech made by him?

Mr. THOMAS. I am quite certain also that he was one of the people who lectured to my club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. He would not have been lecturing to my club if he had not been. I hate to put it that rudely but—

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed, do you know?

Mr. THOMAS. He seemed to have quite a bit of money. I think he was an electrician by trade. He was working for some electrical company.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the name of the electrical company with which he was connected or associated?

Do not guess about it if you do not know.

Mr. THOMAS. There were three of them that he used to work for, see, so I would not want to call the wrong one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Casey or Clarence Gurewitz?

Mr. THOMAS. I knew him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know which is his correct name?

Mr. THOMAS. I think it is Clarence. He uses both of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he, to your knowledge, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, yes, and incidentally I would like to say that I believe that this gentleman was the Gilbert that was referred to later on a while back. I think he is the same one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been acquainted with William S. Johnson?

Mr. THOMAS. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first become acquainted with him?

(Hon. Morgan M. Moulder left hearing room.)

Mr. THOMAS. I cannot remember whether it was before I went into the Army or after I came out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he lived?

Mr. THOMAS. He lived on Twenty-fourth Street, the 500 block, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred a few minutes ago to a Mary Stalcup as being the person that you saw immediately upon your return from the service. Do you know what positions she has held in the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. She was the treasurer and the person that handled all the money and was in charge pretty much of all the literature, and so on. I know all the money went through her, all that I ever turned in.

Mr. TAVENNER. When the dues were collected, what disposition was made of them?

Mr. THOMAS. They were turned over to her.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom?

Mr. THOMAS. To Mary Stalcup.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what disposition she made of the money?

Mr. THOMAS. She was supposed to put it in the bank. I think they had a bank account at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where that bank account was held, in what bank?

Mr. THOMAS. American—the bank on the corner of Ninth and F, on the southwest corner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the name under which the account was handled?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not know. I think it was handled under the name of the Communist Party itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked you a question a little while ago about a man by the name of Robert Paul. Did you say he was not a member of your club in the beginning?

Mr. THOMAS. No, he was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he become a member later?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not remember him ever becoming a member of the club as such.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know to what club he did belong or what branch or cell?

Mr. THOMAS. I would be afraid to say as to that. I really do not know.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know, then, that he was a member of the party?

Mr. THOMAS. As often as he was around the office and we used to meet in the city committee meetings, and, well, I know that. I mean there is no doubt about that. I know he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say you met with him at the city committee meetings, you mean the city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, that is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that meeting open to persons other than members of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. No. You may have been something else but you certainly had a card or you were known as a Communist before you got in there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party at the time he obtained employment with your union?

Mr. THOMAS. That is a question, sir, that I would like to explain, if you do not mind.

I knew Bob Paul before he left Washington before the war, before I went into the Army. He was a member then of the Young Communist League, and I think he went out West for his health and stayed out there for a while and came back in the year 1948.

After I was elected president, I saw him for the first time and he did not have a job and he had a wife and two children to support and he had not been in town very long. I knew he had been a member of the Communist Party but at that particular time I had never met with him as a member of the Communist Party when I proposed his name to the executive board for the job of bookkeeper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he later expelled from the union?

Mr. THOMAS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he discharged from his job as bookkeeper?

Mr. THOMAS. I will put it this way: I asked him, in fact, I told him to quit. I told him to quit.

(Hon. Francis E. Walter left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether a resolution was offered before the union to ask for the resignation of Robert Paul as bookkeeper?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not remember any such resolution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether his discharge as bookkeeper was advocated by Sampler?

Mr. THOMAS. At the time of his discharge, no. There was one time Sampler advocated his discharge.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was before he actually resigned?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

This is exactly what happened, and I want it clearly understood. Sampler advocated Paul's resignation. I fought against it. Later on the business agents, William Gray, S. M. Leake, and I believe William Shields was in on this one—they were all demanding to me that Paul resign or get out of there. They did not want him around any more, and I went to Paul and I told Paul to resign from the union because he was causing too much confusion among the officers and the members, and at this time I would like to say at the time that Sampler advocated firing Paul—he had made up with Paul at this time and he was still meeting with Paul and discussing things with Paul, and Sampler came to the executive board meeting and recommended that Paul be given an indefinite leave of absence because he had to go away for his health or something. These are the words coming out of Sampler's mouth. Paul was subsequently released and Chambers was brought into the office to replace Paul.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the origin of the trouble regarding Robert Paul?

Mr. THOMAS. I do not know what differences Sampler had with Paul. My office is on one side of the building and the two of them worked in the other office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Leake, who was a business agent, likewise was dissatisfied with Robert Paul, was he not?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. He did not like it because Paul was too close to Sampler and Brother Leake came to me and told me that he felt that Paul should get out of there because he and Sampler were trying to take the union over. Whether that was true or not I do not know, but I do know that Sampler and Paul were pretty thick, and one of the reasons that Leake and Sampler got into an argument one time was over this question of Paul.

Mr. TAVENNER. When the argument with regard to the resignation of Robert Paul reached its hottest point, was someone from Baltimore called in to try to settle the whole proposition?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that?

Mr. THOMAS. Frankfeld came in. Philip Frankfeld came in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Frankfeld, the head of the Communist Party for the district comprised of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

I would like to make another statement right new to this effect, that at this time there were two fights going on. There was a fight going on between Sampler and I over a different matter than this Paul matter altogether and Paul happened to be an incidental thing in this.

Sampler wanted Paul fired for reasons of his own and I do not believe that they were political reasons. They were other reasons, personal reasons, or something. I think Paul was discovering certain shortages, and so forth, that were existing in the books at that time, and Sampler wanted to get rid of him by that method. But there were two reasons for Frankfeld coming there. One was to get Sampler and me together and stop the fighting between the two of us and to see to it that Paul stayed there if it was possible for him to stay there.

This is the line of discussion that took place, and I am trying to be as frank as I can about the whole matter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who asked Frankfeld to come to Washington to have this meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. I was told that he was coming to discuss these matters that were cropping up about Bob Paul and I did not disagree with it and Sampler did not disagree with it, so when he came in we talked about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. And then did you and Sampler do what Frankfeld directed or suggested?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, sir; we did it.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was that?

Mr. THOMAS. Number one, we kept Paul and we got together on a program that Frankfeld had submitted to both of us to see what we could do in the union about it. That was calling a conference on the unemployment situation in Washington. One, I was supposed to send out a call to it and some other meeting was being arranged around that time that we discussed. I do not remember what it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the approximate date when Frankfeld came and met with you and Sampler and Robert Paul?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe it was the last part of February or it was in February or March. I cannot remember now just which month it was. It was in the wintertime, I remember that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what year?

Mr. THOMAS. Of this year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of 1950?

Mr. THOMAS. Of 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was asking about the names of various people who were identified with the Communist Party and I would like to continue that.

Were you acquainted with Shirley Taylor?

Mr. THOMAS. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with her?

Mr. THOMAS. I am sure I did but just where I cannot remember right off.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she the wife of William C. Taylor?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. After your return from the Army and after you became active, as you have described, in this new cell, did you attend any committee meetings of the city council or the city committee of the Communist Party in Washington?

Mr. THOMAS. I did, but it so happened that the meeting of the city committee of the Communist Party fell on the same night of my union meeting, so that was a choice between my union meeting and the city committee, and as a result I did not attend too many city committee meetings, but I did attend quite a few.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the chairman of these meetings usually?

Mr. THOMAS. Elizabeth Searle at that time was the chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have occasion to attend a district committee meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Composed of the district of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. THOMAS. It is a little hazy. Those lectures were pretty long and a report would usually take up an hour, an hour and a half, and sometimes 2 hours, and by the time you would get to the discussion periods you were so worn out that there was not too much discussion that you could do. I cannot tell you specifically right offhand what was discussed at each one of them because I did not take any mental notes at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who attended any of the district committee meetings with you in Baltimore?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, at that time, Elizabeth Searle, Mary Stalcup, Johnson—William S. Johnson—and just who the other people are, I would have to refresh my memory on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the names of any persons from Baltimore who were present at those district meetings or any of them?

Mr. THOMAS. At that time, or at subsequent dates?

Mr. TAVENNER. At any time.

Mr. THOMAS. Al Lannon, State chairman then.

Mr. TAVENNER. L-a-n-n-o-n?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. I was not too familiar with the people from Baltimore at that time, but I know Al Lannon because he was before I left for the Army, he came in to take somebody's place who went to the Army from Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. See if you can recall the names of any others.

Mr. THOMAS. I am afraid I am not too familiar with those people from Baltimore, the names of the people from Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you if you remember Dr. Albert Blumberg?

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, yes, I remember him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Albert B-l-u-m-b-e-r-g.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, I remember him.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what way do you remember him?

Mr. THOMAS. He used to be secretary of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he in attendance at any of these meetings which you say you attended?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, he was, but he did not attend all of those meetings because I think his job took him out of the State quite a bit. I do not know exactly what job he held.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know by whom he was employed?

Mr. THOMAS. He was employed by the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean the trips he took were in conjunction with his work in the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I would say so. He was a lecturer or something. I do not know exactly what his job was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember the names of any of the persons who gave lectures at those meetings in Maryland?

Mr. THOMAS. I started telling you. I might start telling you the wrong people, but most of the national committee came down individually, of course, and talked occasionally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Steve Nelson one of them or not, do you recall?

Mr. THOMAS. Steve Nelson was down in 1948, I believe it was, and Steve Nelson was down with—no, that was Albertson down with Gannett. I do not remember when Steve Nelson was down.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that Steve Nelson came down to the district and gave a lecture or not?

Mr. THOMAS. Right off I would be afraid to say. If my mind was refreshed a little bit more I could—

Mr. HARRISON. The subcommittee will take a 5-minute recess at this point.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. HARRISON. The committee will adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 3:30 p. m., Wednesday, December 6, 1950, the hearing was adjourned until Thursday, December 7, 1950, at 10 a. m. On December 7, the hearing was postponed until December 11, 1950.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PART 2

MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:20 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney (arriving as noted), Harold H. Velde (arriving as noted), and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Courtney E. Owens, and James A. Andrews, investigators; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

MR. WALTER. The meeting will come to order. The witness has been sworn. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY THOMAS—Resumed

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Thomas, are you familiar with the Negro commission of the State Communist Party, that is, its organizational make-up and its purposes?

MR. THOMAS. I was on that commission for a while, and the things that we talked about were dealing with the union activities of Communists who were in unions, and it was mostly plans.

MR. TAVENNER. That was a section of the Communist Party?

MR. THOMAS. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. When were you on that commission?

MR. THOMAS. I can't remember. It was not too long after I came out of the Army, I know, but the dates, I can't remember that.

MR. TAVENNER. Was that a district commission, city commission, or what? On what level was that commission?

MR. THOMAS. I think we had two. We had one on the State-wide level and one on a city-wide level.

MR. TAVENNER. When you speak of State-wide, do you refer to the district composed of the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

MR. THOMAS. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. Who were other persons on that commission with you?

Mr. THOMAS. Offhand I can remember four people. There was Meyers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give his full name? If you are uncertain of his first name, can you identify him by some further descriptive information?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, he was a former president of one of the unions in the district, and he is a very heavy man, and I understand has a very excellent record in the Army. He went in the Army and came out about 1946, I believe. I didn't know him personally, so to speak, but I did know he was at one time the head of one of the unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify the union?

Mr. THOMAS. It was a union in Cumberland.

Mr. TAVENNER. Cumberland?

Mr. THOMAS. Cumberland, Md.; one of the unions up there. It has been a long time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know any others? You said there were four, I believe.

Mr. THOMAS. To my knowledge there were four. There was Meyers; William S. Johnson was there for a while; and the woman that died; and myself. I know we were there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the person to whom you referred as having died Elsie Smith?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything about the present occupation or whereabouts at this time of the person by the name of Meyers that you referred to.

Mr. THOMAS. I haven't seen Meyers in over 18 months until the other day. I saw him in here.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was here in this hearing room when you testified before?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know about where he was sitting in this room?

Mr. THOMAS. When I saw him he was standing near the door.

Mr. TAVENNER. Describe a little more fully the functioning of this commission?

Mr. THOMAS. Our job was to outline plans of how to increase the membership of the Communist Party in the various trade-union organizations; to work up preliminary programs that would be suggested to the people who were working in these organizations, to be carried out to the best of their ability; and anything that would happen in the unions that the people who happened to be working in the unions couldn't settle, this commission's job was to try to figure out ways and means of settling these things for the people working in the unions, to solve their problems. That is the best of my knowledge right now of what that commission did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall attending a meeting of the Negro commission of the State Communist Party at Baltimore in January 1946, at which you made a report?

Mr. THOMAS. I made a report at quite a few of those meetings. If you got it down there, I guess I did. I couldn't tell you what I said, though.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall making a report regarding veterans' affairs, on a veterans' meeting which you had attended in New York?

Mr. THOMAS. Since you mention that, I guess I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was this meeting in New York which you attended?

Mr. THOMAS. I attended a series of meetings up there. Incidentally, I would like to say I didn't go to New York for the purpose of attending these meetings. After I got up there I heard they were taking place and I went, and I happened to be the only person from the district that was there. At that time William Taylor had not been assigned to this district. I went to New York to see some friends, actually, and I bumped into Taylor, and he took me to these meetings. One meeting was held in the center of the Communist Party; I remember that. Another meeting, a semireception, was given at the Theresa Hotel, and I was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of these meetings?

Mr. THOMAS. It was preliminary stages, trying to establish a veterans' organization, to the best of my knowledge. It was carried from the Theresa Hotel to the YMCA, and a committee was established there. I think my name was on the call that went out. Everybody who was there, their name went on the call that went out, calling for a convention that was held some place. I didn't go, I know. It was in Chicago or Detroit or some place, I don't remember where. When I came back here I imagine I made a report. I don't remember now.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say the purpose of this New York meeting was to establish a veterans' organization?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. The preliminary plans were laid out.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of veterans' organization?

Mr. THOMAS. A veterans' organization that would mainly include Negroes, but anybody could join if they wanted to. It was just to get the veterans in an organization that were not in the other bona fide veterans organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent, if any, were members of the Communist Party involved in the establishment of that organization?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, since they initiated the whole thing, I think I can say that they were right in on it, but after they elected the leaders of the national organization, I couldn't see any Communists on top. I didn't see any on top. I remember three people who were on top, and I didn't know any of these people, and none of these people, except one, was at these meetings in New York, and that was at the Theresa Hotel meeting, and that was George Murphy, and if George Murphy is a Communist, I don't know it. Kenneth Kennedy was elected president of this United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, and Winston Edwards was elected treasurer, I believe. These people, to the best of my knowledge, I could not say they were Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say the movement was initiated by the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. It was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us more about that.

Mr. THOMAS. All I know is that there was a meeting called of Communist veterans in New York. I don't know if it was called Nation-wide or just for the people living in New York, but a discussion took place. I was late getting in for the discussion. Then there was going to be a meeting that evening at the Theresa Hotel, and we went there and had dinner, and there were quite a few min-

isters there and prominent people in Harlem, and there were long discussions, and so on, that took place, and it was agreed that these people would be the initial sponsors.

The next evening—I believe it was the next evening; it was one evening—there was a very large meeting at the YMCA. It was on One Hundred and Twenty-sixth or One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Street. I don't remember the address of the YMCA now. That is easy to locate. There were quite a number of people there. To the best of my knowledge there was quite a bit of disagreement at that meeting. I know that, because there was something I disagreed with, and I spoke on that. It wasn't on the program, though; it was on what the name would be and where it would be set up, and so on. It is not too clear to me what happened.

Mr. TAVENNER. What name was adopted, do you recall?

Mr. THOMAS. To my knowledge no name was adopted in New York. The name was adopted at that convention, wherever it was held, in Detroit or Chicago.

Mr. TAVENNER. What name was finally adopted?

Mr. THOMAS. United Negro and Allied Veterans of America.

Mr. WALTER. Who were the officers of that organization?

Mr. THOMAS. Winston Edwards; George Murphy was the adjutant, I believe; and one fellow I never have seen in my life, Kenneth Kennedy. They were the three top officers of the organization.

Mr. WALTER. Do you remember any other members of the organization?

Mr. THOMAS. I would be afraid to call the names of anybody else. That was a pretty good while ago. The names of the officers were published, so that they would be very easy to get.

Mr. WALTER. Are they known to you to be Communists?

Mr. THOMAS. Some of them are.

(Hon. John McSweeney and Hon. Harold H. Velde enter hearing room.)

Mr. WALTER. Which ones?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know which ones are in it now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether this was the same organization which met at Turner's Arena in May 1947 and was addressed by William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis?

Mr. THOMAS. That is not the same meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is not the same group?

Mr. THOMAS. No. That was the Communist Veterans Encampment, I believe it was called.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire now to ask you about additional persons who may have been known to you to be active in the Communist Party. Did you know an individual by the name of Al Lannon?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. I knew him before I went in the Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold, if any, in the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. When I went in the Army he was secretary of the Maryland-District of Columbia Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the district organization?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how long he remained in that position?

MR. THOMAS. I don't remember offhand: a year or so, I think. Somebody, I believe, went in the Army and he took his place.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Gertrude Evans?

MR. THOMAS. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. What position, if any, did she hold in the Communist Party?

MR. THOMAS. I don't remember her holding any position.

MR. TAVENNER. Was she on any committee of any character?

MR. THOMAS. She was on the Trade Union Commission for a while, but her contributions were nil and I think she dropped out herself.

MR. TAVENNER. When you speak of the Trade Union Commission, describe that organization further. Was it a branch of the Communist Party or not?

MR. THOMAS. It was part of the Communist Party. It consisted of the most active people in the unions in the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with a person by the name of Pettis Perry?

MR. THOMAS. I did.

MR. TAVENNER. Tell us what you know about that individual.

MR. THOMAS. I can't tell you too much except that I met with him on several occasions. He is a person that you probably couldn't get mad at if you met him. He is a very congenial type of person. If he is shrewd, I could never detect any shrewdness on his part. He was in charge of minorities, I believe, for the national committee of the Communist Party, and I used to see him and talk to him about the problems of the Negro people, and so forth.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether he addressed any group of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia?

MR. THOMAS. I remember him addressing a group, but I don't know what he was talking about. Very frankly, I don't remember what he said. I would like to say something right along here. I attended thousands of meetings during the time I was in the Communist Party, and one meeting just doesn't stand out like a sore thumb unless something happened at that meeting to me, and it is hard for me to get my thoughts together when we speak of just one meeting.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know in what city he lived?

MR. THOMAS. The last time I knew anything about him, or saw him, he was living in New York City.

MR. TAVENNER. You have testified about attending a Communist Party school prior to your going into the service. Did you have occasion to attend a school after you came back from the Army?

MR. THOMAS. I did.

MR. TAVENNER. Tell the committee how it occurred that you attended this second school.

MR. THOMAS. Well, I didn't have any idea that there was a school being planned at that time, and I didn't have enough money to take off for 6 weeks and go to school anyway, but when the proposition was put to me that I had been chosen by the leaders of the District Communist Party and the Communist Party in the city of Washington to go to attend that school, I had to first discuss with them the question of leaving my family and so on without any means of eating and sleeping and so on. It was a sacrifice to go on my part. When I agreed to go they agreed to pay my expenses up there and back and said that I would be maintained while I was up there.

I can't remember whether we had to fill blanks out before we left here or after we got up there. I know we had to fill some blanks out. I don't remember what was on the blanks now.

I stayed up there until my father-in-law died, and I had to come back to Washington. That was about 2½ weeks after I got there. I stayed here about a week and a half and then went back. It was pretty close to Christmas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who consulted you about attending this school, and who recommended you for it?

Mr. THOMAS. Elizabeth Searle, to the best of my knowledge, and I think William C. Taylor was here at that time and he recommended that I go.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions did they hold at that time, if you know?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe Taylor was chairman and Elizabeth Searle was secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was this school held?

Mr. THOMAS. Outside of New York City, up in the Adirondacks near Beacon, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many people were in attendance at this school?

Mr. THOMAS. That would be hard to say, but I would put it around 25 or 30.

Mr. TAVENNER. From what section of the country did they come?

Mr. THOMAS. As far west as Nebraska, and throughout the east coast.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who was the head of the school?

Mr. THOMAS. A fellow by the name of Hy Gordon.

Mr. TAVENNER. Hy Gordon, H-y G-o-r-d-o-n?

Mr. THOMAS. H-y G-o-r-d-o-n. He used to be the district organizer for the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Later on in your testimony I will want to ask you the names of the different instructors in that school as we come to the subjects that were taught there.

Can you give us the names of any of those who were in attendance at that school and what their prominence, if any, became in the Communist Party after that?

Mr. THOMAS. I remember one fellow who was very prominent, Abe Lewis. He died. He was from Cleveland.

Irving Goff. He became State secretary of the Louisiana Communist Party.

Jack—I don't remember his last name. He was organizer for three Western States, including Nebraska, I believe. I don't remember his last name. Names slip my mind. I can't remember those names now.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of this school?

Mr. THOMAS. To me the school was a refresher course, from the way I understood it, because I had already been in a similar school in 1941; but for most of them it was to enlighten them on the theory and teachings of the scholars of scientific socialism, is the way it was put, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and so on. The writings of these men were to be gone into very thoroughly.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not any of those attending had held positions in the Government service, military, or otherwise?

MR. THOMAS. We had quite a few veterans there, as I remember, because we used to get together and shoot the breeze about things we used to do overseas. There was one fellow who could tell us more because he was a captain in the OSS and his stories were very interesting because he was behind enemy lines most of the time.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you remember what his name was?

MR. THOMAS. Irving Goff.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you spell his last name?

MR. THOMAS. I think it is G-o-f-f.

MR. TAVENNER. You referred a moment ago to a person by the name of Jack as having been chairman of the Communist Party in Nebraska. Was that Jack Lucid, L-u-c-i-d?

MR. THOMAS. I believe it was. I believe that is the way he pronounced his name.

MR. TAVENNER. Were there women at that school?

MR. THOMAS. There were quite a few women there.

MR. TAVENNER. Can you give the names of any of them who attended?

MR. THOMAS. Their first names are on that notebook. I wrote the first names on that notebook over there.

MR. TAVENNER. What is that book to which you refer?

MR. THOMAS. That is my notebook. That is the book that I kept my notes in.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you turn that book over at the request of the investigators of the committee, just as it was when they asked you for it?

MR. THOMAS. I did.

MR. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce that notebook in evidence for identification, not as an exhibit, but for identification only, and rather than introduce it as one exhibit, I have marked all the contents and assigned a separate exhibit number to them for purposes of identification, from No. 1 to No. 73, inclusive.

(The notebook above referred to, containing documents marked "Thomas Exhibits 1 to 73," inclusive, is filed in connection with this hearing, marked for identification only.)

MR. TAVENNER. Will you look over that book and refresh your recollection and tell us the names of any persons who were in attendance as students at that school?

MR. THOMAS. This refreshes my memory. Judy. Judy was in charge of the Communist Party in St. Louis, Mo. I don't know whether she is still there or not. I don't know what happened to her since 1946. I haven't seen or heard of her since then.

Rena. I can't remember her last name. She was from New York and I believe she works in the National Office of the Communist Party. She did. I don't know if she does now or not. I haven't seen or heard of her since.

Ruth was married to an organizer in one of the States. I don't remember his name or her last name now. I know there was some trouble about her, and she was getting sick of it all, and they didn't like her because she was wearing something that made somebody else

envious. I don't know what happened to her. I haven't seen her since either.

There was one girl, Geraldine, from Chicago; and another one, Lee, from Boston, Mass.

But these people, I can't remember their last names. I have their names here and it refreshes my memory, but I can't remember their last names. I didn't put them down. I just happened to jot those first names down when I first went there. That is all I can remember so far of the girls.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you Exhibit No. 1 and I refer you to page 7. What is that Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. THOMAS. It is an outline on "The State." I believe this is a lecture by Lenin at Sverdlov University.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that is a copy of the outline of Lenin's lecture on "The State"?

Mr. THOMAS. I want to make sure about it. It just says here, "A lecture delivered at the Sverdlov University." It doesn't say by whom, but I think it is by Lenin, and I will accept that as being by Lenin.

Mr. TAVENNER. You will note at the end of it, in parentheses, it says, "From Lenin's Selected Works, volume XI." Do you see that?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Referring again to page 7, in the middle of the page, I call your attention to this statement:

The state is a machine for the oppression of one class by another, a machine for keeping in subjugation to one class other subordinated classes. There are various forms of this machine. In the slave-owning state we had a monarchy, an aristocratic republic or even a democratic republic. In fact the forms of government varied extremely, but their essence was always the same.

Was this theory of the nature of the state applied to the Government of the United States in the course of your teachings there?

Mr. THOMAS. I wouldn't like to answer that question yes or no. I would like to explain my understanding of how this was taught. I didn't read too much of this thing. I got mine mostly from discussions in the class. The working class in this country, along with aliens, Negro people, foreign-born, and so forth, were oppressed by the ruling classes of the country. They never failed to mention Wall Street as the ruling class. Wall Street was the dominating factor in running the Government, from what I understood, and they were the oppressors of all the other classes, and all the other classes were subjected to their whims and desires and so on. This is what we were taught, that there is a dictatorship of the capitalist class, and what we were working for was a dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a little deep for a fifth grade scholar; I want to make that plain.

Mr. WALTER. I am sure it wasn't too deep for you.

Mr. TAVENNER. I ask you to look at page 11. Near the middle of the page appears this language:

* * * you say that your state is free, whereas in reality, as long as there is private property, your state, even if it is a democratic republic, is nothing but a machine used by the capitalists to suppress the workers, and the freer the state, the more clearly is this expressed. Examples of this are Switzerland in Europe and the United States in the Americas.

Was that taught you also at this school?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. I remember discussing this whole outline. It was brought out that in the United States you have more democracy

than you have in most other democratic states—so-called democratic states is the way it was put—but at the same time, as time goes on tighter and tighter controls will be put over the lives of the people. This is what was taught there.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you exhibit 3.

Mr. WALTER. Before you go into that, may I ask a question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. But despite that fact, their ultimate goal was a dictatorship of the proletariat?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a sheet from a notebook, marked exhibit 3, and ask you whether you prepared it, or what it is?

Mr. THOMAS. This was prepared in a group. We had a group of three people. I was reporter for this. Three people would sit down and answer the questions submitted to the class, and each group was to take a certain question, and I believe this is one of the questions my group had.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is an argument in favor of a one-party system, is it not?

Mr. THOMAS. From the top of the page I can see that is what it is. I would like the opportunity of reading this over and refreshing my mind, but from the top of the page I see that is absolutely correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you read it into the record, please?

Mr. THOMAS (reading):

Why is the existence of one party in the Soviet Union the guaranty for the greatest flourishing democracy?

Democracy flourishes under the one-party system in the Soviet Union because that party is loved, respected, and has the confidence of the people it represents (namely, the workers and peasants). No two parties or a half dozen parties could represent the working class under socialism because it means splitting the working class into two or three parts, and as a result it could not carry through the job of building socialism. Therefore, the worker finds it unnecessary to have more than one party.

Political parties represent class and class interest, and since there are only two classes in the Soviet Union, workers and peasants, and both are striving for a better world and moving in the same direction, to have more than one party the goal of the Soviet Union would never be reached.

Under socialism there can be only one party, and that party must be armed with Marxism, and the only party armed with that science is the Communist Party, and is the only party capable of leading the masses to socialism.

The Communist Party is the only guaranty for democracy in the Soviet Union because it is based on democracy itself. Under the Communist Party, complete freedom of the working class is granted because it is part of that class, and once it ceases to champion democracy, it ceases to be a Marxist party.

It is the only party that has no other interest than the interest of the working class. No other party can say this. If any other party sincerely fights for socialism, it and the Communist Party will merge and become one.

There can be no two Marxist parties. If one party is a party of Marxism, the other one will end up a counterrevolutionary party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that represent the teachings that you were given at that school?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't remember. That paper is not marked. If that paper was marked, I believe that would represent the thought of the teacher. Whether it represented the thought of the teacher or not, I can't tell, because it is not marked by the teacher, but it was accepted by the rest of the class. I don't want to say anything wrong, and I don't

want to say this is the teaching of the teacher, because these three students got together and made this thing up.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of the teachings you were exposed to there, this thing was prepared?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. It was prepared by the students. I think there were several papers on that thing, and there was a pretty hot argument between our group and the other groups that prepared those things.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you exhibit 8, which is marked "Lesson IV—The State," and at the end I see a bibliography of material to be used as reading material. Will you read that into the record, please.

Mr. THOMAS (reading):

Lenin, State and Revolution, chapters I, II, III (sec. 3 and 5) and chapter V.

Lenin, Left Wing Communism, chapter VII.

Communist Manifesto, last two pages of chapter II.

Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, chapter IV.

Stalin, From Socialism to Communism, pages 49-57.

Dimitrov, Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism, chapter I.

Lenin, State and Revolution, chapters IV and VI (sec. 2).

Stalin, The October Revolution and Tactics, chapter II (in Leninism)

Engels, Origin of the Family, chapter 9, especially pages 205-217 (139-147, old edition).

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you given Communist Party literature?

Mr. THOMAS. We were.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have asked you to turn over to the investigators the Communist Party literature and pamphlets and books which you have. Will you examine these and state whether you turned them over to us?

Mr. THOMAS. These are the books turned over to you.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and how did you acquire this material?

Mr. THOMAS. Some of those books were given to us in the class, and some were mailed to me at home. I picked up some at the Communist Party office, and people brought some around and just left them with me. I just accumulated a lot of that stuff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe I will just read the names and titles into the record.

Mr. WALTER. Yes. That will be sufficient identification.

Mr. TAVENNER. The following are the books which you have just handed me:

Manifesto of the Communist Party, by Karl Marx and F. Engels.

State and Revolution, by V. I. Lenin.

On the Eve of October, by V. I. Lenin.

Mastering Bolshevism, by Joseph Stalin.

Espionage, by S. Uranov.

Negro Liberation, by James S. Allen.

Foundations of Leninism, by Joseph Stalin.

Marxist Study Courses, lessons 4 and 5, course of political economy.

The Rise of Socialism in the Soviet Union, report by D. Z. Manuilsky.

The Ultimate Aim.

Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism, by Dimitroff.

Tito's Plot Against Europe—The Story of the Rajk Conspiracy in Hungary, by Derek Kartun.

I notice that this is—

Mr. THOMAS. I think that carries this year's date on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, it is copyrighted in 1950 by International Publishers, Inc. What were the circumstances under which you acquired this?

Mr. THOMAS. That book came to me either through the mail or somebody left it in my office. I don't remember now how it got to me, but I remember reading part of that book. I wouldn't want to say exactly how that book came to me, but I think Paul gave me that book or it came to me through the mail.

Mr. WALTER. Were all these books published by International Publishers?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know, sir. I think you could examine them and see.

Mr. TAVENNER. Political Economy, by A. Leontiev, is the last of the books. What were the circumstances under which you acquired it?

Mr. THOMAS. I think I bought that book. We studied that same book in a class, but I think I bought that book after I came back. It is published by International Publishers, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you exhibit 11, bearing date November 29, 1946, in which various names appear. Will you state what the significance of those names is?

Mr. THOMAS. There is no significance to that, no significance at all. I was sitting down doodling and put those names down there. If you will notice, they are all leaders of the Communist Party in this country or other country. It was just a question of doodling. I was thinking about all those people and just happened to put their names down.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have noticed memoranda in the notebook relating to Browder and to Lovestone. In what way were those names brought to the attention of the students in the course of the lectures?

Mr. THOMAS. I think just before we got into the question of what was termed Trotskyism, this subject was taught, variation, or deviation, from teachings of the Communist Party. Lovestone and Browder traveled the same route. As I understand, Browder wanted the Communist Party in the United States exclusively a United States party. He wanted it formed along the same line as the rest of the political parties in the country, and there was a big fight over this thing, and his theories were termed Browderism, and we had to tear his theories to pieces and prove that he was wrong. That is how that discussion took place.

Mr. TAVENNER. So lectures were given which had the purpose of demonstrating that Browder was wrong?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, that is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And as to Lovestone, what was the situation?

Mr. THOMAS. Lovestone was a little different from Browder in that Lovestone—of course I didn't know anything about Lovestone, never heard of him before in my life; but it was brought out that Lovestone differed from Browder in that he wanted to be a bigger shot than he was. I think it was a personal thing with Lovestone more than anything else but he had some theories that they didn't like. That is the way I figured it out. It was a pretty good while ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want you to refer to exhibit 24, in which some names appear and a group number, and I ask you what the significance of that is, if any?

Mr. THOMAS. That may have been one of the groups I was in, or somebody's group. George N.; Joe—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will that serve to refresh your recollection as to the names of any of the persons attending the school?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. Joe Kuzma. I don't know where he was from. Boyd: I don't know if that is his first or last name.

Sanders: I thought it was Sentner, but I see now it was Sanders. I thought it was Sentner I remembered from St. Louis, but it was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you know a man by the name of Sentner from St. Louis?

Mr. THOMAS. I thought it was Sentner, but it was Sanders.

Mr. TAVENNER. There are still two other names.

Mr. THOMAS. Thomas and Roberts. Thomas is me. Roberts was a woman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify Roberts by any further descriptive information?

Mr. THOMAS. She was a very charming woman. I know that. That is about all I know about her. She was a brilliant woman in the estimation of the people who were there. They gave her a very high rating.

(Hon. John McSweeney left hearing room.)

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to say that the names might not mean very much, because they may not be the right names. I know I used my name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it the practice at this school for the students to use assumed names or their own names?

Mr. THOMAS. They may have used their own names, but they usually used just their first names or just their last names, and a lot of people, I imagine, used assumed names. But I would like to state right now I have never used an assumed name as long as I was in the Communist Party, and I never will use an assumed name.

Mr. TAVENNER. On exhibit 41, at the top of the page, appears the name Steve Nelson, with a statement after it, "Nat. question." Will you explain the significance of that?

Mr. THOMAS. He was speaking on the national question.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, Steve Nelson was one of the lecturers at that school?

Mr. THOMAS. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. How frequently did he lecture?

Mr. THOMAS. He may have been there twice, but I know he was there that day. He lectured to two classes that day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon or at night. He gave us all these statistics about different types of national groups in the country and how they were decimated or increased. That is what he discussed.

Mr. HARRISON. In this connection, may I ask a question, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HARRISON. I have before me a book you introduced, Negro Liberation, by James S. Allen. Do you remember that book?

Mr. THOMAS. I do; I do.

Mr. HARRISON. That apparently has a plan for the establishment of a Negro nation in the area outlined on that map. Will you look at that?

Mr. THOMAS. I will give you the information I have gained about this thing here if you want it.

Mr. HARRISON. Yes, I would like to have it.

Mr. THOMAS. This is what is known as the Black Belt, extending from the tip of the Eastern Shore of Maryland to Texas. That is

where you have a continuous majority of Negroes living, this black line, cutting through these counties and whole States. You have a majority of Negroes in those places, and the dark places around there are called border areas, where you have an equal number of Negroes or a minority of Negroes living.

I would like to say this thing was debated in New York in 1946. It was a public thing, almost. It was written up in Political Affairs, and a lot of people had articles on it.

I think a lot of people dropped out of the Communist Party because of this theory. The theory was that the policy of the Communist Party should be that the Negroes should have self-determination in whatever section of the country they are in the majority, and that includes this area, the Black Belt; they should govern that area there.

Mr. HARRISON. As a Soviet nation?

Mr. THOMAS. They didn't say that, but they knew they couldn't do it unless they had socialism. They said they could never have self-determination under the present Government of the United States, and only under socialism could they have this, but that is what they were going to fight for. This thing caused a lot of disagreement among the Negroes themselves. I didn't understand it. I accepted the word of the leaders.

Mr. HARRISON. The black area would be the area that would make up that Soviet nation; is that correct?

Mr. THOMAS. It is. It would make up a nation within a nation.

Mr. HARRISON. A nation within a nation. What did the Communist plan call for them to do with the striped areas? I notice they put my congressional district in the striped area.

Mr. THOMAS. This is the border area here, and I don't think any plans were ever made for this, because there was not a continuous majority of Negroes in that area. I would like to say since this thing was gotten up there has been a migration of Negroes from the Black Belt to the striped belt and farther north, and today I believe only in a very few places do you have a majority of Negroes.

Mr. HARRISON. They decided to put my congressional district in the new nation. I notice they left Texas out completely.

Mr. THOMAS. Texas is in the striped part.

Mr. HARRISON. Then my district and Texas are together.

Mr. VELDE. What was the general subject matter of Steve Nelson's teachings the two times he appeared at that school as a teacher?

Mr. THOMAS. From my notes here—and that is about all I can speak from, although I remember very well the day he delivered the lecture on the national question—he was speaking in terms of the different minorities, and I have some figures here: Jews, 500,000; Polish, 60,000; Italians, 600,000; Germans; Mexicans; and so on. He was speaking of the minorities in this country. To the best of my knowledge that is all he spoke on.

Mr. VELDE. As I understood you a while ago, you said you had attended thousands of Communist Party meetings and were unable to remember the thought of each one. Did you attend as many as a thousand Communist Party meetings?

Mr. THOMAS. If you never lived the life of a Communist, I don't guess you can understand that. Every night you go to a meeting. Whether it is a Communist Party meeting or not, I don't know. I don't know how I ever made it. I was a laborer. I was working 8

hours a day, and I worked hard, and I went out at night to these meetings because I had a firm conviction it was for my benefit.

Mr. VELDE. I was curious to know whether you had actually attended that many meetings.

Mr. THOMAS. I was a busy bee.

Mr. VELDE. I was wondering also if, when they taught you the dictatorship of the proletariat or one-party government, whether that caused any discussion by the students attending these classes?

Mr. THOMAS. Occasionally students would ask questions about these things, because I think it is confusing to live in a country where you have a large number of parties—I think we have six or seven parties in this country—then you are going to have one party that is going to be everything. There was certainly a certain amount of discussion on the thing. But when one of the instructors gets up and says, "The one-party system is the only system that can bring socialism," that means period. You just don't talk about it.

Mr. VELDE. Did any of the students argue about it?

Mr. THOMAS. You don't argue with people in the national committee. You just don't argue with people in the national committee. You may debate in convention with them, but once they tell a student such and such is the case, that is the case.

Mr. VELDE. What would happen if a student would get up and proclaim the advantages of the two-party or more than two-party system?

Mr. THOMAS. They would try to straighten him out, and if they couldn't straighten him out he would find himself ostracized, like I am today.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to look at the reverse side of exhibit 43, and ask if it doesn't indicate that Steve Nelson lectured on another date, November 20, 1946?

Mr. THOMAS. What was the other date?

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't think there was any date.

Mr. THOMAS. I believe it was all part of the same thing. That may have been a continuation of that class. I think it was on the same day, because it deals with the same question, the national question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to look at exhibit 51 and state whether or not your notes on that occasion indicate who the lecturer was and what the subject was?

Mr. THOMAS. Harry Haywood on the national question.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what do you mean by the national question?

Mr. THOMAS. That means discussing the minorities in the country and their problems. This particular thing dealt with the Negro people in particular—this lecture. That was Harry Haywood.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe Harry Haywood?

Mr. THOMAS. He used to be an organizer for the Communist Party years ago, and now he is a writer, to the best of my knowledge. The last time I saw him he was writing a book on the national question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to look at exhibit 52 and state whether or not the notes that you took at that time were from a lecture given at school, or how they were prepared?

Mr. THOMAS. This was an analysis of the discussion of the Negro and the Black Belt. These are some of the things that the various teachers of communism handed down through the years, to the best of my knowledge. I haven't gone over this, but it seems that is what

it was. It was an analysis based on Marx's approach to the Negro question in the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read the first paragraph of your notes:

A Marxist in America has established the fact that the Negro people in the Black Belt of the South constitute a nation. From the scientific approach we find that among them they have all the requisites of a nation.

I would like to ask you a little further about that subject of the establishment of a nation within a nation, which was mentioned to you by Judge Harrison a few minutes ago. Were you taught, in the course of any of these lectures, that there should ultimately be a separate nation under the Soviet Republic in the Black Belt in this country?

Mr. THOMAS. I will try to put it the same way I put it to Judge Harrison. We discussed the possibility of creating a state in the Black Belt, but after a pretty thorough discussion, in the last analysis it was brought out that it would be impossible to create a state under the present capitalistic system. There would have to be socialism, and there would have to be—not an autonomous state, but I believe they called it a state within a state that had all the rights and privileges of any other state, possibly with the exception of making its own foreign policy, and that could not be done under the present system, but the aim was to establish a state within a state.

I remember asking questions of how you were going to get to the seacoast; suppose you had a war and were surrounded on three sides. It seemed impractical to some people, but to other people it seemed to be a very practical thing.

I think we should all live in one state and everybody share the same thing everybody else shares. That is my thought. I went along with the proposition because I was taught that way.

Mr. HARRISON. It was a Communist Party doctrine that this state should be created?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right; that they should determine what they wanted to do.

Mr. TAVENNER. I see here on one page, under date December 9, the name of Comrade Chaplin, C-h-a-p-l-i-n. What is the significance of that?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't believe I ever met him before. This was on the Far East. This was discussing China and Japan; all of Asia.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the individual referred to as Comrade Chaplin?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know. I never met him before or since. I don't know who he is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he give the lecture on that occasion?

Mr. THOMAS. He did; I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I see the name Betty Gannett, and the statement "party clubs." Will you explain the significance of that?

Mr. THOMAS. Her lecture was on how to run party clubs, what their functions were, how they were to act, the organizational set-up of the clubs themselves. I don't think she went into too much politics. It was how to technically keep a party club going.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee the details of that lecture to any extent?

Mr. THOMAS. Do I have any notes there?

MR. TAVENNER. No. It is a blank page. On the reverse side of the page there are a few notes that may refresh your recollection [handing document to the witness].

MR. THOMAS. Oh! I think, first, the shop club was the basic form of organization. That is your club in industry and wherever people are working, a large or small group of people. That is the basic form of club.

The secondary basis is the industrial form, where you have people from different walks of life in the club. The only thing that pulls them together is that they are in the Communist Party. But in a shop club they work in the same industry and discuss the things that affect them every day.

After each election in a club there should be a conference in the club to straighten out any kinks that came out during the election, because sometimes there are fights in these elections about who is going to be elected.

She went into the thing about an hour, and I think I went to sleep.

During the time I was up there I had two teeth extracted. I had an impacted wisdom tooth extracted, and a lot of these things were going on when I was having trouble with my teeth, and I had a hot towel to my teeth a lot of the time and didn't pay too much attention to some of the things discussed.

MR. TAVENNER. I see on the following page the name Margaret Crow. Is there any significance to that name?

MR. THOMAS. I think she came up to lecture one of the classes.

MR. TAVENNER. The name Johnnie Gates appears on the next page. Is there any significance to that name?

MR. THOMAS. He lectured about veterans. He was in the Army. He was a member of the Young Communist League before he went in the Army, and when he came out I think he was editor of the Daily Worker.

MR. TAVENNER. Exhibit 60, at the top of the page, states: Lenin, "What's to be Done," and under that the name Foster. What is the significance of that?

MR. THOMAS. Foster gave us one lecture, to my knowledge, on his history, mostly.

MR. TAVENNER. On exhibit 61 I see the name George Siskin. Who was he?

MR. THOMAS. He was one of the economics professors there. He taught political economy and Marx's capital.

MR. TAVENNER. Did he deliver more than one lecture?

MR. THOMAS. I believe he did. It takes time to discuss Marx's capital and political economy.

MR. TAVENNER. Exhibit 63 has the name Nat Ross. Who was he?

MR. THOMAS. He was organizer for the Communist Party in Carolina, or state chairman.

MR. TAVENNER. Did he deliver lectures at this school?

MR. THOMAS. One.

MR. TAVENNER. Exhibit 64 has at the top the name of Jack Stachel, Wednesday morning, December 18. Did Jack Stachel deliver lectures at this school?

MR. THOMAS. He did.

MR. TAVENNER. Did he deliver the lecture on which your notes were taken on that particular day?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe he did. It was quite long, I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. On exhibit 65 I see the name Madge—

Mr. THOMAS. That is wage struggle. We had a discussion of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who delivered that lecture?

Mr. THOMAS. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. On exhibit 67 there is a name, apparently Sam Sillen. Will you identify him?

Mr. THOMAS. That was the first time I had ever seem him, and the last time. He used to work for the Daily Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he deliver lectures?

Mr. THOMAS. He delivered one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Exhibit 68 contains several pages of notes. Can you state how those notes were prepared, whether they were prepared from some lecture given?

Mr. THOMAS. They were prepared mainly from lectures. At that time there was a fight going on within the CIO over this question of communism, I believe, and that is the time they had a compromise resolution introduced in the CIO. Nothing was being done in the AFL, and we were to test our understanding of the line of the Communist Party in drawing up statements as to what the tactical line of the Communist Party should be in AFL and CIO. I don't believe that was ever submitted. Some of that was submitted, but it was submitted in a typewritten form. If you notice, some of that is scratched out and we had to draw it up again and it was submitted to the school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under the guidance of the instructors?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is entitled, "The Application of Our Tactical Line in the AFL."

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was decided to set forth and express the purposes of the Communist Party and its tactical objectives within the American Federation of Labor; is that correct?

Mr. THOMAS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. The first paragraph has lines drawn through it, but the language of it is as follows:

The tactical line of the party in the AFL today is force the top leadership in AFL to unite with all labor to become the main center to fight reaction of the capitalist class.

The next paragraph reads, and is not stricken out:

Applying our Marxist science to past history of AFL, we find that after 1936 we almost completely neglected our work there, and when we did work in AFL it was generally incorrect, and our slogan became "All-out aid to CIO." Nobody can doubt we did a good job in building the CIO. Our comrades in many cases just hibernated in the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. THOMAS. That is my language. That was me writing that. I remember I had to make a draft on that thing, and I was writing that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this draft prepared as the result of discussions and lectures which were given at this school?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it represented what you considered at that time to be the decisions and the correct way of thinking of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right, but I think I made a few mistakes in that, and that is why it had to be changed around. But that was my own thinking at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next paragraph has lines drawn through it, but I shall read it:

We must take the American Federation of Labor seriously because it represents the largest bloc of organized workers in America today, and the leadership in the American Federation of Labor in many cases are just as reactionary as some of the capitalists themselves; but this is so because in many instances these leaders are in unions which Lenin characterized as the aristocracy of labor, but that we can see that these groups are slowly being pushed down and down with the rest of the working class. This is indicated by the struggle of the railroad workers, who, although they are not in the American Federation of Labor, represent a trend in that strata.

Then appears this paragraph which is not marked out:

Today, when the cost of living up and the policy of the top leadership is demagoguery in relation to the economic demand as to workers, our tactics at this time should force a wedge between the most reactionary section of the leadership and isolate them from their membership.

I will repeat:

* * * our tactics at this time should force a wedge between the most reactionary section of the leadership and isolate them from their membership.

Was that part of the tactical line of the Communist Party within the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. THOMAS. I will say yes to that. I think that was one of the paragraphs not touched and not debated on too much in the school. I think that was accepted by everybody there.

I want to say I am tired of this double-talk. I have to deal with the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. I am sick and tired of living a double life of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, and this is a good illustration of what it means.

Mr. WALTER. Don't all Communists have to live double lives?

Mr. THOMAS. If they are all an example of me, I would say yes. I am sick and tired of it. I think some parts of their program, fighting for civil rights, are all right, but when you have to live two lives—I want to be a friend to a man; I don't want to be his friend and enemy at the same time, and that is what this thing means. I learned that as an officer in the union, and I am glad I learned that story.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is followed by this in your notes:

To accomplish this task for our party, we cannot rely on old methods of work within the American Federation of Labor. Our tactics today must be to fight for the economic demand of mankind and not start out by criticizing the leadership, which will only antagonize the membership and all of the energy of our comrades will be wasted.

The erroneous conclusion of some comrades in the American Federation of Labor work was that the first thing when going into American Federation of Labor unions was to oppose the leadership. Our new tactical line has changed this to a method of fighting for the needs of the membership first, and in the process of fighting for these needs it will pose a problem for the leadership. It will either force them to expose themselves or straighten up and fly right.

Is that your language?

Mr. THOMAS. That is mine.

Mr. TAVENNER. But is that what you were taught in connection with the tactical line to be followed in the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. THOMAS. I will have to say yes to that question. These are my thoughts here, and we had to retype this stuff, and I don't know what was in the final analysis, but nobody criticized that line.

(Hon. Harold H. Velde left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing reading):

The most important step in relation to trade-unions was our party's decision to concentrate on 10 of the most outstanding and decisive international unions of the American Federation of Labor. Without a policy of concentration and direction. * * *

I am not certain I am reading that correctly. Will you read it?

Mr. THOMAS (reading):

The most important set-up in relation to trade-unions was our party in its decision to concentrate on 10 of the most outstanding and decisive international unions in the AFL. Without a policy of concentration and direction we can never hope to raise the understanding of the workers and lead them into the struggle.

Mr. TAVENNER (reading):

During the drive of our party * * *.

Will you read that?

Mr. THOMAS (reading):

During the drive of our party we must at all times remember to bring to the workers scientific Marxism and prepare them for the coming class struggle.

Mr. TAVENNER. By "class struggle" were you referring to the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; that will be the ultimate result. The dictatorship of the proletariat will come after the working class has overthrown the bourgeoisie.

(Hon. Burr P. Harrison left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I see in exhibit 69, at the top of the page, the name Max Weiss.

Mr. THOMAS. Max Weiss was a lecturer there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. He was at that time. He was on the national committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any other instructors whose names have not already been mentioned by you? There was one name I saw there that I did not call you attention to, Selsen.

Mr. THOMAS. Selsen?

Mr. TAVENNER. S-e-l-s-e-n. Do you recall him? Do you know who he was?

Mr. THOMAS. Maybe I got him twisted with Sillen. He lectured to the best of my memory on—I can't remember. I thought it was on dialectic materialism. We had a young fellow there who was pretty good on that subject, and it must have been him.

(Hon. Burr P. Harrison returns to hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know an individual by the name of J. Peters?

Mr. THOMAS. I heard a lot about him, but I never saw him. I don't know anybody that actually knows him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then he was not a lecturer there?

Mr. THOMAS. Not that I know of. He may have been there under a different name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with an individual by the name of William Weinstone?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, Weinstone or Weinstock lectured there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you uncertain as to whether it was Weinstone or Weinstock?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify the individual as to what position he held and where he was from?

Mr. THOMAS. Weinstock I believe was at one time an official of the painters' union in New York, and he was defeated and went to work for the Communist Party. If there is another individual, I can't piece him together.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which one appeared as a lecturer?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember if it was Weinstone or Weinstock.

Mr. WALTER. I believe this is a good place to break off. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m., Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.)

Mr. WALTER. The committee will be in order.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY THOMAS—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Thomas, do you recall about when it was that you returned from this Communist Party school at Beacon, N. Y.?

Mr. THOMAS. Not the exact date, but it was pretty close to Christmas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what year?

Mr. THOMAS. 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a delegate from the Communist Party of Washington, D. C., to the eastern regional conference of the Communist Party held at Webster Hall in New York City?

Mr. THOMAS. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was held in October 1947?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't remember the date, or the year either, but it was back there sometime, not too long after I came out of the Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of that conference?

Mr. THOMAS. This was to serve in the place of a national convention. They may have had one on the west coast too. I don't know whether they did or not. This was to serve in the place of the convention that was not held that year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any individuals who were present at this conference?

Mr. THOMAS. Practically all the known Communists were there from all over the country, and I think I have named most of the national leaders of the Communist Party. There were three people from Washington, I think. There was myself, and Taylor—

Mr. TAVENNER. What Taylor?

Mr. THOMAS. William C. Taylor; and I am not sure whether Elizabeth Searle was there or Mary Stalcup; I can't remember which one it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a Communist Party district board meeting in Washington, D. C., on March 26, 1948, at which Betty Gannett was the principal speaker?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is she the same person who lectured in the school which you had attended in 1946?

Mr. THOMAS. She is the same person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Very definitely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall attending a district convention of the Communist Party which was held at Finn Hall in Baltimore in July 1948?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not it was at this meeting that you were elected a member of the district committee?

Mr. THOMAS. I think at this meeting I was reelected.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reelected?

Mr. THOMAS. I think I was reelected to the district committee, but at this meeting they had a district committee and a board. They had a board set up above with about five people, but I can't remember all of the people who were elected to that board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any of them?

Mr. THOMAS. Philip Frankfeld; William Taylor, Meyers; Elsie Smith; and I can't remember the last person right now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person named Sy Bakst, B-a-k-s-t?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I knew him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was affiliated with the Communist Party in any manner?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, he was at one time, but he had a fight and I think he got out of it. The last I heard of him he was out. This was about 3 or 4 years ago, I guess.

Mr. TAVENNER. Three or 4 years ago?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe it was. It was a long time ago. I know there was a big fight around him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he held any position in the Communist Party in the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember right off. I used to see him a lot, I know that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with an individual named Morris Chansky, C-h-a-n-s-k-y?

Mr. THOMAS. That isn't Martin Chancey, is it?

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't know.

Mr. THOMAS. What did he do?

Mr. TAVENNER. You can't recall him?

Mr. THOMAS. I wouldn't want to say.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are uncertain, I don't want you to say.

Are you acquainted with a person named Travis Hedrick?

Mr. THOMAS. If I do, that name slips my mind too. I don't recall him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person named Frank Nassis, N-a-s-s-i-s?

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to say I may know him, but I may know him only as Frank. A lot of these people I only knew by their first name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person named Sally Peake?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I know her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; when I was in there she was affiliated with the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position, if any, in the Communist Party, she held in the District of Columbia?

Mr. THOMAS. I think she was on what they called the Negro Commission at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person named Gertrude Rinis, R-i-n-i-s?

Mr. THOMAS. I knew her before I went into the Army. The last time I heard from her she was sick. I haven't seen her, to the best of my memory, since I came out of the Army. I understand she has a bad heart and has been sick.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not she was affiliated with the Communist Party prior to the time you went into the service?

Mr. THOMAS. I used to meet her in meetings, public or semipublic meetings, of the Communist Party. I guess she was a Communist. She was around and she knew practically everybody I knew. I just have to assume that she was.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know definitely whether she was or was not?

Mr. THOMAS. The only way you can really know definitely is when you are in the same club together, or serve on the same committee, and so forth.

Mr. KEARNEY. You said you had seen her at public or semipublic meetings of the Communist Party. Were you ever present with her in a closed Communist Party meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then you don't know definitely whether she was a Communist or not?

Mr. THOMAS. I will have to put it that way. I might have been in a meeting with her and I didn't recognize her.

Mr. KEARNEY. My idea, Mr. Thomas, is not to have anyone accused of being a Communist unless you can definitely state for the record that he was, to your definite knowledge.

Mr. THOMAS. I wouldn't want to accuse anybody wrongly. She may have been a sympathizer and just came around. There were a lot of people like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Irving Studenberg, S-t-u-d-e-n-b-e-r-g?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember that name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Bill Tymous, T-y-m-o-u-s?

Mr. THOMAS. I knew him before I went into the service.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what his affiliation was, if anything, with the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. He was a member of the Young Communist League, but I don't know whether he realized what he was doing or not. I don't know how deep his mind went into the thing, or anything of the sort. He was a member at one time, but he didn't last very long. I went into the service right after that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know a person by the name of Diana Farnham Fiske?

Mr. THOMAS. That is the wife of the correspondent for the Daily Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where does she live?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't know. I don't know where either one of them lives. I think they live in Washington. I know he writes out of Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been in a closed Communist Party meeting with her?

Mr. THOMAS. She was at that convention, I believe, in 1947 or 1948, whenever it was, with him. To the best of my memory right now, that is the only Communist Party meeting she has been in with me, except a State committee meeting at one time. She may have been. But I know she was at that convention with him. He was covering that convention for the paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with her husband?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. I was in a State committee meeting with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that?

Mr. THOMAS. That was in Baltimore. The date, place, and time, I can't remember, but I know he was there. It wasn't long after I came out of the service.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of meeting was it?

Mr. THOMAS. It was a closed Communist Party meeting.

Mr. WALTER. By that you mean nobody was permitted to attend except members of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. This morning you gave me various pieces of Communist Party literature and pamphlets. Was Communist Party literature distributed at the union hall of the union of which you were the president?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; it was. Occasionally certain types of literature were distributed to the members sitting around waiting for jobs and so on, and this is one of the things that caused considerable discussion and confusion there. I remember the three business agents of the union at that time came to me and asked me if I couldn't do something about it, and that is one of the things that precipitated a good deal of discussion between myself and Robert Paul, who was distributing this literature, and Sampler, who was at that time secretary-treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with an organization known as the Harlem Trade Union Council?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us what you know about that organization.

Mr. THOMAS. The Harlem Trade Union Council as such, there is not too much I can tell you about it. I know it is set up in New York. Ferdinand Smith is the chairman, and they are supposed to be working on problems facing the Negro people in Harlem. That is about all

I know about the Harlem Trade Union Council as such, except that it was one of the sponsors of a conference in Chicago.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did Ferdinand Smith have anything to do with the Maritime Union?

Mr. THOMAS. He was secretary of the Maritime Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that Ferdinand C. Smith?

Mr. THOMAS. I believe it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a letter signed F. C. Smith, over the typewritten name Ferdinand C. Smith, on the letterhead of the Harlem Trade Union Council, and I will ask you where you obtained that letter?

Mr. THOMAS. This letter—there is no date on it that I can see—this letter is the result of a conference held in Chicago June 10 and 11. I was at that conference in Chicago, but I wasn't there when they selected the officers to carry on. Since they had no central place for getting out correspondence and answering mail and so on, I believe—I have not been told this, but I believe—they used the facilities of the Harlem Trade Union Council to carry on until this committee that they elected this month would establish a national headquarters someplace. The intention was not to leave the headquarters of this conference in New York, but to transfer it to some other city, and they used the facilities of the Harlem Trade Union Council to get the necessary mail and so forth out until this national committee that was elected would meet and set up a permanent office in some other city, and that city was not named at the time of the conference.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of the organization to which you refer, and what was its name?

Mr. THOMAS. It was a pretty long name. I think it is in there. National Trade Union Conference for Negro Rights: That was the name of the conference. The name of the organization growing out of the conference, I don't remember what it is. I don't think it had been named at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you named as one of the officers of the continuations committee of that organization?

Mr. THOMAS. I was, but I would like to state that I didn't know I was going to be named. I had to leave early because I was driving back from Chicago, and I was not there when that list was read at the meeting. At that time I would not have protested, because I figured it would make me a national figure, and I was ambitious, too, and it didn't matter. They recommended me because I was from one of the large unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was Ferdinand C. Smith's affiliation, if any, with the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I guess he was a Communist. I couldn't say definitely, because I never met with him in a Communist meeting; and that is the kind of answer you want, isn't it?

Mr. TAVENNER. We want the truth.

Mr. THOMAS. I never met with that man in a Communist Party meeting to my knowledge, but he worked right along with them; he worked right along with everybody.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he the same Ferdinand C. Smith who is now subject to deportation proceedings?

Mr. THOMAS. He is the same Smith.

Mr. TAVENNER. This letter does not bear a date, as you indicated, but it refers to the holding of this conference on June 10 and 11. What year was that conference?

Mr. THOMAS. That was this year.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1950?

Mr. THOMAS. 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Ferdinand C. Smith connected at that time with the Harlem Trade Union Council?

Mr. THOMAS. He was an officer there. I am trying to remember whether he was secretary or chairman; I don't remember which.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign a Taft-Hartley affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee the circumstances under which you signed it.

Mr. THOMAS. We were approaching negotiations with the contractors, and we expected this thing to happen. When I say "we" I am speaking mainly of Thomas G. Sampler and myself, because we were the principal people involved.

We discussed this thing. We discussed it with various people and we discussed it among ourselves. It reached a point where the contractors asked us to clear ourselves with the National Labor Relations Board, and there was no alternative, and we had discussions about this thing then. Discussions were flying thick and thin.

Sampler and I decided to sign these affidavits and quit the Communist Party, quit attending any meetings of the Communist Party; and we did. After we signed these affidavits I don't remember attending any Communist Party meetings, but I know prior to that we did meet with various Communist Party leaders to get their opinion on this thing.

And I would like to say here now, this thing worked on my mind for a long time. There had to be a choice between getting down as president and Sampler getting down as secretary-treasurer, or, breaking organically with the Communist Party and going ahead and signing that affidavit and trying to do what we could for the membership down there.

I will make this categorical statement, that Sampler and I at that time were good friends, and I think we both signed that affidavit in good faith as far as it went in relation to attending meetings, paying dues to the Communist Party, contributing to the Communist Party, and paying assessments and so forth and so on. None of that occurred after we signed that affidavit.

But I think after you have been in the Communist Party for a period of time and you are not mad with anybody, and your eyes haven't been opened, you are bound to try to the best of your ability to follow the Communist policy in many respects. This is something I will say today that I regret that I did. That is what I meant this morning about doing a lot of double talk. You say one thing and you mean about 15 others.

We realized we had to avoid the charge of perjury, and we were very scrupulous in not meeting after we signed that affidavit. But a few days before we signed that affidavit, we did meet with Communists.

In the final analysis it was us who had to decide, because it was us who were put over the griddle. We were very bullheaded. I had discussions with Philip Frankfeld; I had talks with William C. Taylor; I had talks with others of the lesser leaders in Washington, and most of the time they would not make a categorical statement, "Go ahead and sign it, period." They would say, "You are needed in that union down there. Make your own decision. But if I were you I would sign it."

I think the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Sampler and I continued to engage in fighting for civil rights, and cooperating with certain organizations in town, including the Civil Rights Congress and others. We thought these people were right at that time, and we thought there was no harm in doing that. But I find out today we are in a position that we would not be in if we at that time had broken clean.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do I understand you to say that in your talks with the Communist leaders here in Washington or elsewhere, while you were a member of the Communist Party, they advised you to go ahead and sign the non-Communist oath, even while you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I think technically you can say that is right. We had not had a meeting of our club for a few weeks or months before this took place, because we knew that was coming up, but they did advise us to go ahead and sign the affidavit.

Mr. KEARNEY. While you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I guess you would have to put it that way, because I had not broken off all ties.

Mr. KEARNEY. You were a member of the Communist Party at that time, weren't you?

Mr. THOMAS. I had not paid dues for a while. I was a Communist, I guess, in my heart; but I was not attending club meetings.

Mr. KEARNEY. You still considered yourself a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a part of the plan for the signing of the affidavit, did you adopt a device of writing a letter indicating that you were formally resigning from the party?

Mr. THOMAS. We did. I wrote a letter of resignation; Sampler wrote a letter of resignation; and I don't know if somebody else wrote a letter of resignation or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this a copy of the letter of resignation that you wrote?

Mr. THOMAS. That is a duplicate copy.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce that letter in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Thomas Exhibit X."

Mr. WALTER. So ordered.

(The letter above referred to, marked "Thomas Exhibit X," is as follows:)

FEBRUARY 15, 1949.

Mr. ROY WOOD,

District of Columbia secretary, Communist Party,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your notification that I am delinquent in the payment of my dues. I had hoped that this delinquency would indicate to you that

I was no longer interested in retaining my membership. Since this was not clear to you, I am hereby informing you that I am resigning, effective the first of the year, 1949.

Hoping this makes it clear that I am severing all relationships with you and your organization, I am,

Yours truly,

HENRY THOMAS.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. THOMAS. February 15, 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you sign the affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. April 26.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the letter actually written?

Mr. THOMAS. Around the 20th of April.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, the letter was back-dated from about the 20th of April to the 15th of February.

Mr. THOMAS. That is right. That is one of the ingenious schemes that Sampler and I cooked up.

Mr. WALTER. Did somebody advise you to do that?

Mr. THOMAS. I can't say somebody advised me to do that. I can't remember Frankfeld advising me to do that. I remember Sampler and I discussing it and we decided we had better backdate the letter.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it you had your last conversation with Frankfeld before signing the affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't remember. It was in April, but I don't remember the exact date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee about how long before you signed the affidavit it was?

Mr. THOMAS. It was within 10 days.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the other members of the Communist Party with whom you discussed your plan about signing the affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. We discussed it with W. S. Johnson.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he held what position in the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. THOMAS. He didn't hold a position in the Communist Party then, to the best of my knowledge. I would like to say this: Johnson was one of those people that when any trouble came up between Sampler and myself we would go to him and discuss it; and he was one of the first people that we discussed this with.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you continue to be active in the affairs of the Communist Party after the signing of the affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. Not as such. I thought then that I had a little more freedom to swing the way I wanted to swing, but sometimes people would come to me for advice, or to attempt to give me advice. I have never turned anybody around who wanted to talk to me; I never have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the full extent of the advice given by Frankfeld regarding your personal attitude and activity in the Communist Party after signing the Taft-Hartley affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. To be absolutely frank with you, this is what took place between us over that question. Frankfeld said this:

Remember, you are not a member of the Communist Party now as such, but don't forget the teachings and the training and the advice that the Communist Party has given you all down through the years. Capitalism—

this is as near as I can remember the conversation—

is still the main enemy of the working class, and you have to remember that the Communist Party is still the vanguard of the working class.

This is not in quotes. I want that understood. I am trying to get as near his words as I can. It is hard to remember 2 years ago. I can't put it in his exact language, but the way he said it, it meant that we were to carry on certain activities within the union that could be carried on without our being in the Communist Party. That is what it meant.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, whether you were members of the Communist Party or not, you were still to follow the Communist Party line?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us what Communist Party meetings you attended after signing the Taft-Hartley affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I didn't attend any meetings as such. Frequently—not frequently but infrequently, I would say—some members of the Communist Party would meet me, and sometimes they would call me on the outside to see them.

In the last few days my mind has been refreshed to four meetings—five meetings—that took place. I had really forgotten. They were not meetings as such. They were meetings of the individuals, more or less.

No. 1, Frankfeld came into my office sometime in September.

Frankfeld came into my office sometime in February.

Mr. TAVENNER. What years?

Mr. THOMAS. 1949 and 1950. And he came into my office just before our elections last June.

A fellow named Pettis Perry came to town. He sent word to me that he wanted to see me at the Dunbar Hotel. I went to see what he wanted. I don't know what he wanted.

And there was another time Pettis Perry asked me to meet him on Florida Avenue at a residence.

At these places I was present. Sometimes it was only myself; sometimes there were several other people present; but all the time I was trying to pull away as much as I possibly could, but it seemed impossible to get out from all the entanglements I was in.

Those are the meetings I remember now. There may have been some more, but I don't remember them.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were you told to do by members of the Communist Party after you had signed the Taft-Hartley affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. No. 1, we were told to get as many delegates to the conference in Chicago as possible.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean, "as many delegates"?

Mr. THOMAS. Delegates from our union.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what meeting?

Mr. THOMAS. To this conference we were discussing a short while ago that was held in Chicago—National Trade Union Rights—you know what I mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. That was one. Another time we discussed calling a conference here in Washington, an unemployment conference. That was the first of the year. That was never called.

I can't remember what the others were right off, but those were two of the things that I know were discussed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What directions have been given you by Frankfeld since you signed the Taft-Hartley affidavit?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I remember discussing those two things with him, and he told me, in the presence of Sampler, about these delegates, about this unemployment conference, and about some other things. It was not about meetings, but about doing certain things in the union. I know most of these things were dropped; they were not carried out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall an occasion in your union when a resolution was offered in support of the United Nations in the conflict in Korea?

Mr. THOMAS. I remember that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee what occurred at that time.

Mr. THOMAS. The resolution was introduced by the financial secretary-treasurer. I don't remember the contents, but it backed up the United Nations forces in Korea.

When this resolution hit the board, I was surprised that it came in the form that it did, and it set me back, but I thought that I was doing what most of the people that I thought were my friends wanted me to do, to fight against this resolution.

I had two reasons to fight against this resolution. I think you can call them stupid reasons.

First, I wasn't particularly interested whether the union went on record for that resolution or not.

And, secondly, I thought maybe when it got out on the floor I could kill it there. I didn't have a chance to kill it in the executive board.

I thought I was, and I was, following the teachings I have had all through the years, to oppose anything that was American, I will say; anything backed by the Government was supposed to be opposed.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say "supposed to be opposed." Explain that.

Mr. THOMAS. After many, many years of being in the Communist Party, you learn to be against things. That is something that disturbed me over a long period of time. I am tired of being against. I want to be for something sometimes. You are trained to be against things, especially coming from the other side, so to speak, not necessarily from the Government, but coming from other than the Communist side. You are supposed to be against it; it isn't supposed to be right; and instinctively I opposed that resolution.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you considered that you should oppose that resolution because to do so would be in keeping with the Communist Party line or its teachings?

Mr. THOMAS. I guess my instinct must have told me, because really nobody had told me to oppose it. The resolution came as a complete surprise to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it that offered the resolution?

Mr. THOMAS. Thomas G. Sampler.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have spoken several times in the course of your testimony regarding revolutionary training. What did you mean by that?

Mr. THOMAS. The Communist Party is considered the revolutionary party in the world today, or in any other day since its existence. Any

person who is a member of the Communist Party considers himself a revolutionary, whether he knows it or not. He is a revolutionary. He fights for the primary purpose of establishing what is termed "scientific socialism" in this country or any other country he may go to or any country he may live in.

A revolutionary movement is just what its name implies, for a new system. What that system will be, I don't think the Communists know themselves. I think that a lot of people feel this way, that maybe they had better hold on to what they got and not try another system. A lot of question has come up about that. This revolutionary thing is always a constant thing in the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what motivated you in answering questions before this committee and making your break with the Communist Party?

Mr. THOMAS. I have searched my conscience, I have talked with many people, and the one person that I talked to that determined my course of action—I want you to know this; I want the Communists to know it, and I want everybody to know it who thinks I have been a stool pigeon—was my mother.

I have always held my mother in the highest regard. I have neglected her in the last 8 or 9 years. I have not gone to her as I should have gone to her. I have not cared for her as I should have cared for her. But I think she still loves me today as much as the day I was born. She told me that. She was the motivating force. If I had not strayed from her 10 or 12 years ago, it is the thing that could have changed my life.

I would like to say that I had quite a few things to say when I finished my testimony today, but they all seem to go away.

I would like to say that when you are hungry and a man offers you something to eat, not only will you follow that man because you get more to eat, but you are thankful to him, and I was thankful to the Communist Party for taking me off the street and giving me a hot meal, and I appreciated that and tried to do the best I could.

When I was a Communist, I tried to be a good Communist, the same as I try to be a good anything else. I don't think anybody can say anything about my work as president of that union. I have tried to be a good president. I have tried to be good at everything I have done.

For the record I would like to say this: I went to the fifth grade in school. The Communists taught me quite a bit of what I know now; some I picked up myself. If I had had the opportunity to go to school maybe I wouldn't be sitting here today. I don't know what would have happened to me if I had graduated from school. I am sure I wouldn't be here. I probably would not have become a Communist. I probably would still be in Alabama. Maybe I would have owned property. Maybe I would have been a farmer. I can't say what I would have been, but I know what I am now. I am a free man.

I feel that there is no turning back. I cannot go to the Communists for help. I don't know where I will go for help. I don't even know whether I will keep my job. I don't know where I will get my next job.

I did that not to protect myself—I want that understood—but I wanted to go back home to my mother, and I wanted my mother to

say, "My son has come back to me." My mother is old. She is 65 years old. I love her. I always loved her, I guess, but my training—I was so busy I neglected my mother. From now on I promise to love her again; and I feel from the bottom of my heart I have done a service.

The second determining factor is when I discovered there are two Communist Parties in the United States. There is the one I was in. I believed what I was doing was for the benefit of mankind. When I discovered an organization of the Communist Party had engaged in espionage, sabotage, spying, and so forth, this I couldn't stomach.

I told my wife 5 years ago that if I ever discovered the Communist Party was engaged in spying, and it was proven to me, I was through with it. I tell you right now that I am finished. I don't think they will ever want anything more to do with me. I don't want anything more to do with them.

I spent 3 years in the Army and did not complain, and if I have to go some place else I won't complain either. My destiny rests in the hands of God.

Mr. WALTER. The committee, and I might say the country, is indebted to you for the straightforward manner in which you have pointed out how innocent people can, through high-sounding movements, become duped into becoming part of an international conspiracy. It took courage to do what you have done, and you are to be congratulated on proving here you are a good American.

Mr. THOMAS. Thank you.

Mr. WALTER. The committee stands adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 3 p. m. on Monday, December 11, 1950, an adjournment was taken until Tuesday, December 12, 1950, at 10 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PART 2

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:30 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Harold H. Velde (arriving as noted), and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Courtney E. Owens and James A. Andrews, investigators; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will come to order.

Are you ready, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand, please. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir; I do.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS G. SAMPLER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. SAMPLER. Thomas G. Sampler.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. SAMPLER. 1661 Gales Street NE.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. SAMPLER. White Plains, Ala., May 24, 1919.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in the city of Washington?

Mr. SAMPLER. I have lived here since February 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you presently employed?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom?

Mr. SAMPLER. I am secretary-treasurer of the Building Laborers' Local 74, affiliated with the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you occupied that position?

Mr. SAMPLER. Since September 1, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any other positions in that local?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir. I was president of local 74 from June 1947 until June 1948. I was also delegate to different affiliated bodies.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean prior to that time, or during the time that you were an official?

Mr. SAMPLER. Prior to that time I think I was a delegate to the Washington Central Labor Union. I am not positive.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to speak a little louder. You state that prior to that time you were a delegate to what?

Mr. SAMPLER. To the Washington Central Labor Union; as well as delegate to various conventions that were held by the international, as well as State conventions.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been very active, then, in the work of your union?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly what your past record of employment has been, other than what you have just mentioned?

Mr. SAMPLER. Well, I was a farmer in Virginia from the time I was 10 years old until the time I was 17, or until 1937, rather; and I worked as a houseman for a while; and I was in a CCC camp for a couple of years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in the military service?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you enter the military service?

Mr. SAMPLER. I went into the armed services in June of 1944 and I was discharged in December 1945 or the first part of January 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you serve while in the armed services?

Mr. SAMPLER. In Mississippi, where I got my basic training; processing center in Nebraska; and in Pratt, Kans. I was in the Air Force.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your entire service in this country?

Mr. SAMPLER. Within the United States; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. I have, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member?

Mr. SAMPLER. I joined in May 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the circumstances under which you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. Well, we were involved in wage negotiations in the union, and I was chairman of the negotiating committee. I made a statement that wasn't what it should have been, so I was removed as chairman of the committee.

There were people within the union who I suspicioned of being, you know, Communists, who immediately flocked to my defense, and so on, and taken this whole question of removing me from the committee and turned it against the officers who were in, and it built me up pretty good.

One of these persons was Henry Thomas. Another was William Gray. Prior to that time I had been in contact—I had never joined the Socialist Party, but I had been in contact with a Mr. Gauseman,

who was head of the Socialist Party. I talked to him about it, and he couldn't give me any advice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell his name?

Mr. SAMPLER. G-a-u-s-e-m-a-n, William C. He couldn't give me any advice on what to do. I talked to several other people, and they couldn't give me any advice. Then I talked to Thomas, and he was able to give me advice on just what position to take and everything, so it led on from there until I got closer and closer to Thomas, and he was instructing me on this part of the union activity and that part of the union activity.

So finally he and I worked on several jobs together. I would get a job and he would ask me if I could get him on, and I did. Then we developed a friendship.

Thomas met me one day in front of the Union Hall at 525 New Jersey Avenue NW., and that is where I discussed with him about joining the Communist Party. We got a taxicab and went to his home at 1368 Canal Street SW., Washington, D. C., and there is where I signed my application for membership in the Communist Party.

Thomas showed me his membership card in the Communist Party in his home, upstairs in the telephone stand. He showed me his membership card in the Communist Party and in the Young Communist League, and he made the statement he always would be a Communist and follow the doctrines of Marxism and Leninism. He got me interested in discussions on Marxism and Leninism during the process of our working together on these jobs. He also made the statement that I didn't have anything to fear, because joining the Communist Party was legal, and therefore it wasn't illegal to be a Communist, and I didn't have anything to fear. So I joined.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was about what month of the year?

Mr. SAMPLER. About May.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what year?

Mr. SAMPLER. 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you get your Communist Party card?

Mr. SAMPLER. It was later on, at a meeting, and it was issued to me by Henry Thomas.

Mr. WALTER. Where was this meeting held?

Mr. SAMPLER. In Thomas' home.

Mr. WALTER. Do you remember who attended that meeting?

Mr. SAMPLER. Henry Thomas; Taylor, who I learned later on was William C. Taylor; and a fellow by the name of Al or Ray was at this meeting.

Mr. WALTER. Nobody else attended the meeting?

Mr. SAMPLER. I can't recall anyone else. I can only remember those people at that meeting.

Mr. WALTER. And they were all Communists?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir. They introduced themselves as being Communists and gave me some literature to read and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you became a member of the Communist Party, were you assigned to any particular group or cell of the party?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of that group?

Mr. SAMPLER. The Douglas Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the same group of which Thomas was a member?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of the officers of that group?

Mr. SAMPLER. Henry Thomas was president; his wife was secretary-treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was her name?

Mr. SAMPLER. Mrs. Gladys R. Thomas.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated the names of several people who attended the first meeting that you attended. Or maybe I should ask you, who were present at the first meeting of this Douglas Club that you attended?

Mr. SAMPLER. At the first meeting those I can remember that were present were William C. Taylor; this fellow Al; myself; and Thomas. We met in Thomas' living room, 1368 Canal Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give me the names of all persons who from that time on became members of that group?

Mr. SAMPLER. You mean that attended later meetings?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I mean who attended later meetings and were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. SAMPLER. Ernest Chambers; Norris Hammond—

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the first name?

Mr. SAMPLER. Norris.

Mr. TAVENNER. Norris Hammond?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Who else?

Mr. SAMPLER. William Gray.

Mr. TAVENNER. William Gray?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. Thomas Waller.

Mr. TAVENNER. Thomas Waller?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. McKinley Gray became a member later on.

Mr. TAVENNER. McKinley Gray?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. Henry Thomas; Gladys Thomas; Norris Hammond; myself; and for a while this fellow Al or Ray, whichever one his name was, attended these meetings, then he dropped out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us further identifying information regarding this man Al?

Mr. SAMPLER. He is tall. He asked me one time to become a member of the trustee board of the Washington Book Shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. SAMPLER. I don't know. He said he was a member of the trustee board, that he was on the trustee board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what work he did or where he was employed?

Mr. SAMPLER. I think he was an electrician.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about the circumstances of his inviting you to be a member of the board of trustees of the Washington Book Shop.

Mr. SAMPLER. He just brought it out of clear air. It was at the end of a club meeting. He said, "Tom, why don't you come on and join the book shop." and he said, "You will have a chance to work your way up to the board of trustees." I think later on I did sub-

scribe for membership, but I never attended a meeting. He said I could get my books cheap, and a whole lot of things.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember the name of the person to whom you addressed your application for membership in the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. SAMPLER. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any other persons who were either members of the Douglas Club of the Communist Party or who attended its meetings?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. William C. Taylor came to some meetings. Shirley, who was William C. Taylor's wife, came to some. Phil Frankfeld.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was Phil Frankfeld?

Mr. SAMPLER. He was chairman of the Maryland-District of Columbia Communist Party. And various other people would come in and give lectures. I can't recall their names. Someone was there one night who had something to do with literature, but I can't recall his name.

(Hon. John McSweeney left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with a man by the name of Branca?

Mr. SAMPLER. I have met Branca in Communist Party meetings, but not meetings of the Douglas Club, that I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a man by the name of Roy Wood?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. He came into the Douglas Club later on. He came into the Douglas Club after Robert Paul came into the union as bookkeeper. When Roy Wood came into the Douglas Club, I believe he became chairman or was sent here to be chairman of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia.

Mr. WALTER. What was the total membership of the Douglas Club?

Mr. SAMPLER. Approximately 9 or 10, I believe. Then the club split.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before we come to that, let us see if we can identify further names. I think you have identified Norris Hammond as one of the members of that club?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many of the members of this club held offices at one time or another in your local union?

Mr. SAMPLER. Five, the best that I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give their names?

Mr. SAMPLER. Henry Thomas, Thomas Sampler, William Gray, Norris Hammond, Ernest Chambers, and McKinley Gray were on the executive board for a while.

Mr. WALTER. At these Communist Party meetings, were plans made to get control of the union?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir. You see, our club meetings were held after each union meeting, then what each person didn't do well, Thomas would criticize him, so-called criticism, after the meeting. Then we would contact each other by phone or personal contact between meetings as to what was coming up at the next meeting of the union.

Mr. WALTER. Always having in mind the ultimate objective of controlling the union?

Mr. SAMPLER. Of controlling the union.

Mr. HARRISON. That is done through the little cells. For instance, when the Douglas Club gained its objective you broke it up; isn't that right?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. I would say that the ultimate objective was to see that Thomas controlled the union. They tried to teach us that a good Communist doesn't run for office, but looking over it now you can see that even when I was president, I didn't run for reelection, and the orders not to run came from William Taylor and other members of the trade-union commission.

Mr. TAVENNER. Trade-union commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. I can see it clearly now. They didn't care if Chambers or I ever became officers, just so they got this one well-trained Communist into leadership in that union.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was who?

Mr. SAMPLER. Henry Thomas.

Mr. TAVENNER. What means were used by this Communist Party cell to maintain a Communist as president of the union? How did they go about it? What organizational work was done, if any, to assure his election as president of the union? I mean, were plans made in your Communist Party cell as to how you would bring about the election of Thomas as president?

Mr. SAMPLER. Well, yes. You see, we were pretty popular among the members, especially myself as president, and so on. So at a trade-union commission meeting at William S. Johnson's house, that is where the first decision was made for me to step down as president and run for secretary-treasurer against a very strong individual who I knew it was almost impossible to beat. I agreed because I had been in a terrible fight over the Taft-Hartley affidavit while I was president. I can't remember what month it was that I approached Thomas about signing the affidavit. I was president, but everybody looked to Thomas as the leader of the union. We were down in the basement and I told him I felt we should go on and sign these things, and that is when Thomas made the statement to me that if I signed I would be expelled from the Communist Party, and if I wanted to use my stubbornness he would see that I was exposed as being a Communist president. That is the type of conversations that went on between Thomas and me while I was president.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say you got directions from the trade-union commission of the Communist Party that you were to step down as president?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And run for a lesser office?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the members of that trade-union commission that made that decision?

Mr. SAMPLER. That made the decision?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, that made the decision that you should step down.

Mr. SAMPLER. Present at that meeting?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. SAMPLER. Myself, William C. Taylor, William S. Johnson, Henry Thomas were present at that meeting. However, that is not all the people on the trade-union commission.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the other members of the trade-union commission?

Mr. SAMPLER. Gertrude Evans; and there was a Rose on there for a while, I didn't know her last name; Henry Thomas; William S. Johnson; William C. Taylor used to come to the meetings; Sally Peake; and Lem Belton.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those persons having membership in this commission were necessarily members of the Communist Party, were they not?

Mr. SAMPLER. We talked about what the Communist Party line should be in the unions and what was going on in the unions?

Mr. TAVENNER. So that the Communist Party line was handed down to the officers of the union through this trade-union commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of a person by the name of Rose as being a member of that trade-union commission.

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us some further identifying information regarding her, as to what she did, where she lived, or anything else that would enable us to identify her?

Mr. SAMPLER. I don't know where she lived or what she did. I have run into her on several citizens' committees since that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall what those citizens' committees were?

Mr. SAMPLER. One was a citizens' committee for Paul Robeson, which later on turned into being the citizens' committee for the Negro committee rally; then I think they changed it again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give any other information regarding her?

Mr. SAMPLER. I have seen her on several picket lines. In fact, when you would go to these picket lines, when somebody would ask you to help out, you would always see the same old faces.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you definitely identify this person's presence at any picket line?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, I can.

Mr. TAVENNER. What picket line?

Mr. SAMPLER. One time they were picketing the White House and she was on that picket line.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. SAMPLER. I think it was in 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say 1949?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. And she was very active in the Progressive Party, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she hold any position in the Progressive Party, as far as you know?

Mr. SAMPLER. I don't recall. She and Gertrude Evans were very close together on these committees, Progressive Party, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you describe her physical appearance?

Mr. SAMPLER. She was a heavy weight. She was a white woman. She weighed about 150 or 160 pounds, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of a person being a member of the Douglas Club by the name of Al or Ray—

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was an electrician and who was a member of the Washington Book Shop. I hand you a list of the members of the

board of directors of the Washington Book Shop as of July 9, 1948, and I will ask you to look at that list and see whether you can identify the name of the person to whom you referred as Al or Ray from that list?

Mr. SAMPLER. I believe this is the fellow here, Raymond Israel Pinkson. I am quite sure that this was the man. I used to call him Al quite a few times, and he used to correct me and tell what his name was, and my recollection is that his name was Ray. He was bald-headed. He had very little hair on his head, I remember that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were your Communist Party meetings held while you were a member of the Douglas Club?

Mr. SAMPLER. Thomas' home, 1368 Canal Street; at my home, 1661 Gales Street NE.; at Ernest Chambers' home, 406 N Street NW.; and I think one or two meetings at Thomas Waller's room or suite at the Dunbar Hotel.

Mr. TAVENNER. How often did you have those meetings?

Mr. SAMPLER. About twice a month, unless something came up in between them, then Thomas would call a special meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this club, known as the Douglas Club of the Communist Party, able to control the policies of the union?

Mr. SAMPLER. To a great extent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the rank and file membership of the union know that these officers who were members of the Douglas Club were actually members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. No. Looking back over it, as far as being the Communist in local 74, I, Sampler, was always pictured as being the big Communist, you see. That is the way the membership would see it. Actually, it was Thomas' direction and advice that caused the winning out of the party line within the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were efforts made by the members of the club to conceal from the membership of the union the fact that a particular line was the Communist Party line, or that what was being done was being done at the direction of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. We were asked to conceal it because in certain companies if you reveal you are a Communist you wouldn't be able to get a position, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. You made reference a while ago to the fact that your organization, the Frederic Douglas Club, was split up. Will you tell the committee what you meant by that?

Mr. SAMPLER. This was after Roy Wood came in, and some of the members of the club thought, "Here is another Communist going to take a job in the union," since it was brought up that Robert Paul was one and was working in the union office. Before I ran for secretary-treasurer he was working there. We thought the mere fact Roy Wood had been put in our club meant he was going to take a job in the union. That caused a fight. Then, we were told for security reasons, the club was split into two groups. Thomas named me in charge of one section, and himself in charge of another. We were told to hold meetings, and I would collect the dues and turn them over to Thomas and the rest of the members. But our wing, our group, didn't hold any meetings whatsoever, as such, of the Douglas Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were those assigned to your group?

Mr. SAMPLER. The persons we felt were disloyal to the party, who were Ernest Chambers, McKinley Gray, and Thomas Waller.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that the reason for splitting the organization that was given to you was to promote security?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What explanation was given of that to you?

Mr. SAMPLER. That the Government was making a drive against the Communist Party, and that they wouldn't have any more membership lists, wouldn't issue any more dues books, or anything.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did this split occur?

Mr. SAMPLER. In 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. For approximately 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee the circumstances under which your membership was terminated?

Mr. SAMPLER. Well, I saw a telegram from the Master Builders Association, signed by Bill Nelson, chairman of the negotiating committee, that they would not meet with local 74 until all local unions complied with the non-Communist oath of the Taft-Hartley law. I saw that telegram and I took it up with Thomas. I left the telegram on Thomas' desk. I told him I wasn't going to fight any more to hold off signing that affidavit.

So I went, on the advice of one of the union's attorneys, Mr. Howard Jenkins, to the office of the Civil Rights Congress, 930 F Street NW., Washington, D. C., and asked Tom Buchanan if I could withdraw my membership from the Civil Rights Congress. He told me I could not do it.

Mr. TAVENNER. That you could not withdraw from the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. Word got around and Thomas heard about it. He said he had attended a city committee meeting and had gotten the instructions on what to do, and that I was a bonehead for going out and trying to clear my record without consulting him. He said he had the instruction on what to do as far as the non-Communist affidavit was concerned, and he told me if I had acted like a Communist should act and come to the leader, I would be able to sign, and so on.

He said, "I will tell you what you ought to do. You can hand in a resignation, if you want to. I think somebody will get in touch with you. As far as I am concerned, it is up to you."

So they did get in touch with me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who got in touch with you?

Mr. SAMPLER. Roy Wood and William S. Johnson came to my house and said they represented the city committee of the Communist Party, and asked about my actions and why did I do it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you do what?

Mr. SAMPLER. Why did I put this move on to sign the affidavit. They said my actions were not the actions of a Communist, and that left me open for so-called criticism in the Communist Party. They said I could no longer consider myself as being a member of the Communist Party.

They asked me wouldn't I go ahead and offer my resignation then. I told them I would think it over. Roy Wood said, "Well, if you want to get in touch with us you can."

So I decided to get in touch with Johnson. I met William S. Johnson in the 100 block of Massachusetts Avenue NW. in his car. That is when I made the decision to get out of the Communist Party and sign the affidavit. William Johnson told me Thomas had the instructions.

I went to the union office and I immediately fixed up my resignation.

By the way, I would like to say on this that Thomas intended to make Chambers the goat on this thing. He and I went into the back room and talked it over, and he said, "You are going to hand in your resignation; is that right?"

I said, "Yes, I am." And I said, "What about Chambers and the rest of the fellows that hold office?"

He said, "I don't know. Somebody has got to take the rap. Is it going to be you?"

So I went to Chambers and told him to write out his resignation from the party and we would turn it in. I turned over my resignation from the Communist Party to Henry Thomas in the union office.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom was that resignation addressed?

Mr. SAMPLER. To Roy Wood, who was then secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Secretary of the Communist Party for the District of Columbia?

Mr. SAMPLER. Then he was secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he now holds?

Mr. SAMPLER. I believe he is chairman. I see where he wrote a letter to several of the papers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the date of your resignation?

Mr. SAMPLER. Well, it was discussed about back-dating these letters of resignation, but the actual resignation was written in April—the last part of April 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was the date which was placed on the letters of resignation, if you remember?

Mr. SAMPLER. I can't recall what the date was on my letter, but there was a discussion between Thomas and myself about back-dating these letters. I remember that in my resignation I expressed my sincere belief, and so on, because I had had a lot of differences with them on a lot of things.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was your resignation delivered, do you know?

Mr. SAMPLER. It was given to Thomas in person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any conference with a person by the name of Robert Paul regarding the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavit or your resignation?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. Paul had discussed some parts of it. He had studied law, and he said that this was being done according to the legal part of it. He was around in the office there. He was from one to the other, from me to Thomas, to Chambers, to everybody in the office, and into everything.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any efforts on the part of the Communist Party to control your actions or your conduct after the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavit?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes; yes; several times. First Paul would go over into Thomas' office and they would talk over things. Most of my good friends in the union would come in and talk to me, and a lot of them were anti-Communists. Paul would overhear the conversation and

he would go in and take it up with Thomas, then a week or so later Phil Frankfeld would come in and try to straighten things out.

I remember an incident that arose concerning the signing. Paul and I used to disagree on a lot of things. I told him to stop distributing party literature and so on. He was always talking in my ear and trying to influence me to do this or that, and when he couldn't, he would go to Thomas, and Thomas would try to straighten us out on many things so far as the party line was concerned.

We had an organizer named Shields, an anti-Communist. Shields, McKinley Gray, Chambers, and James Devore influenced me in putting the skids under Paul.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the attitude of the rank and file of the union toward Robert Paul distributing and spreading Communist material in the union hall?

Mr. SAMPLER. A lot of them were against it, and a lot of them were just interested in getting jobs.

Mr. TAVENNER. But complaints were made about his doing that?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes; that is right—distributing Communist literature and material. And every petition that would come out, he would have it there for you to sign.

Mr. TAVENNER. What instructions came down from Communist Party headquarters as to how to deal with this question of Robert Paul?

Mr. SAMPLER. The only thing I know of as coming from the Communist Party headquarters was that Phil Frankfeld came in. I told Paul one day, "Paul, they are after you and you have to go." That was one morning about 10 o'clock. The next morning Phil Frankfeld, Robert Paul, Roy Wood, and myself were present in Thomas' office in the front part of the building.

Mr. TAVENNER. So you had at that meeting the heads of the party both from Maryland and the District of Columbia?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. Frankfeld made the statement that it was unthinkable to throw Paul out among the unemployed, and at that meeting Thomas got me to agree to let Paul stay there until he had a chance to find himself another job. And Frankfeld made the statement that Thomas had called him in to help straighten this thing out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall an occasion when a resolution supporting the United Nations in the Korean situation was presented to your local union?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you presented that resolution?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. I have a copy of that resolution. Do you want to see it [handing paper to Mr. Tavenner]?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read the resolution into the record:

Whereas the American Federation of Labor has pledged support to our Government and the United Nations in fighting to restore peace in Korea; and

Whereas the American Federation of Labor has pledged all-out support of organized labor in helping our Government to defeat the forces of communism at home and abroad; and

Whereas we cannot ignore the heroic part the United States troops are playing to defeat the Communists in the Korean War: So therefore be it

Resolved, That Local No. 74 go on record as supporting William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and pledge our whole support to our Government in the present Korean crisis; and be it further

Resolved, That we pray to God for a decisive victory in Korea for the United Nations and for a lasting peace.

Mr. SAMPLER. In fact, I expect, sir, to go back to the membership of that local and get this resolution adopted. I would like to say this, that in my opinion it is stupid for anyone within the territory of the United States to be advocating something in favor of Russia or the Communists over there in Europe or Asia or wherever they are, when if a Communist plane comes over and drops a bomb, on that bomb it wouldn't be labeled that it was intended only to hit Republicans or capitalists and so forth and so on. In fact, the very stupid fools advocating that policy would be blown to bits. In my opinion this is common sense.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you successful in getting that resolution acted upon by your local?

Mr. SAMPLER. It was introduced in the executive board of the union, and Thomas opposed the resolution. The rest of the board—and I might say most of them were veterans of World War II—were in favor of the resolution. The vote would be 6 to 1.

Thomas became very bitter. He jumped up and said that Truman had no business interfering in the Korean people's fight; that he should let those people take care of their own business. This happened on August 16, 1950. He went on with a whole lot of things.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of the tactics that were used, you did not get it voted on by the rank and file membership?

Mr. SAMPLER. Thomas would do everything he could to keep those board meeting minutes from being read. I hate to reveal this, but it has to come out.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you to testify regarding any of the internal affairs of the union. This committee is not interested except insofar as it relates to Communist activities.

Mr. SAMPLER. Communist tactics were used. There is a backlog of board minutes since June, since the election.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time you were a member of the Communist Party, did you have occasion to attend any meetings of the city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, sir; I did.

(Hon. Harold H. Velde entered hearing room.)

Mr. SAMPLER (continuing). I attended two or three city committee meetings with Thomas. I attended one meeting in the 1600 block of R Street. Thomas told me where it was going to be held. It was in Casey's apartment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that name?

Mr. SAMPLER. C-a-s-e-y. And one meeting was held in the same apartment upstairs on the fourth or fifth floor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you identify Casey further?

Mr. SAMPLER. He was mixed up in a strike in Virginia once.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know his first name?

Mr. SAMPLER. I think it is Clarence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what organization he was a member of? You say he was in a strike over in Virginia. What union was on strike?

Mr. SAMPLER. That was in 1947. It was the Building Service Union, local 82.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he was present at some of these city committee meetings?

Mr. SAMPLER. Some of these city committee meetings; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know his wife?

Mr. SAMPLER. Her name was Helen. She had dark hair. That is about all I know of her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what her name was before her marriage?

Mr. SAMPLER. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she attend any of these city committee meetings?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes; she was in on some of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of any other persons you remember who were present?

Mr. SAMPLER. Gertrude Evans was present at one; Casey and his wife; Henry Thomas; William C. Taylor; Shirley, who was William C. Taylor's wife; some fellow by the name of Tom Hurney.

Mr. TAVENNER. H-u-r-n-e-y?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. I am quite certain it was in his apartment that the meeting was held upstairs in the 1600 block of R Street.

(Hon. Bernard W. Kearney left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any other persons? Do you recall whether or not anyone from the Montgomery Club attended those meetings?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. I think she was the wife of Rob Hall, who is the correspondent for the Daily Worker. She attended some of those meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was her name; do you know?

Mr. SAMPLER. I don't recall her name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember the names of any of the clubs or cells of the Communist Party of which these various individuals were representatives?

Mr. SAMPLER. No; I can't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time meet with members of the Communist Party in other clubs or cells of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. I did not attend meetings in any other cells. I attended classes at 4402 Georgia Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any State board meetings? By that I mean meetings of the district comprised of the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. SAMPLER. I attended three or four State board meetings along with Thomas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were these meetings held?

Mr. SAMPLER. In Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of persons that you met at those meetings, or who attended those meetings?

Mr. SAMPLER. Phil Frankfeld; his wife was present at one; Rob Hall, correspondent for the Daily Worker; Mel Fiske, who later became correspondent; at that time he was an organizer at Cumberland, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Organizer for what?

Mr. SAMPLER. At the Celanese Corp. I remember him making a report on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said that he went up there to do organizational work. What type of organizational work did you have reference to?

Mr. SAMPLER. He made a long report on it, and there was discussion about recruiting people up there into the Communist Party, as well as carrying on Communist Party activities in the plant up there.

Mr. TAVENNER. By that I understand you to say he was doing organizational work for the Communist Party at the Celanese plant?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there others?

Mr. SAMPLER. There was Elsie Smith, who died later on; William S. Johnson; and present at one of those meetings was a woman by the name of Alice Stapleton.

Mr. TAVENNER. Alice Stapleton?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. She was present at one of those meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify her further?

Mr. SAMPLER. I heard at one time that she worked in one of the Embassies in the District of Columbia. I don't know which one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know in what capacity she worked there?

Mr. SAMPLER. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did this person go with you?

Mr. SAMPLER. In the car?

Mr. TAVENNER. In the car to the meeting in Baltimore?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. We went with William S. Johnson in his car.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph and ask you if you can identify the person whose picture appears there?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. That is Alice Stapleton. She has gray hair, very streaked hair.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that photograph in evidence and ask that it be marked "Sampler Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Sampler Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. How many meetings did you attend of the State board at Baltimore?

Mr. SAMPLER. Three or four. I attended one meeting, I think it was called under the auspices of the State board, where John Williamson, national labor secretary of the Communist Party, spoke. Frankfeld spoke first, and then Williamson, and I asked Thomas or Frankfeld, were all of these people leaders in unions? The question was over the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. Some of the discussion centered on the affidavits. Williamson pointed out that this Taft-Hartley law was a reactionary piece of legislation, and so on. That was one meeting.

There was another fellow present at some of these State meetings by the name of Fox. He worked in the furniture union, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember his first name?

Mr. SAMPLER. No; I don't. He had dark hair, tall, heavy-set.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any others you can identify?

Mr. SAMPLER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there other persons whose names you do not know, but as to whom you have some identifying information?

Mr. SAMPLER. I think I could. At one time this State board was pretty large, and then they cut it down to 9 or 11 at a convention that

was held, I believe, in 1947 or 1948. I think it was in the fall of the year, and they cut down the membership of the State board. At one meeting I attended in Baltimore there were about 20 people there. Most of the time there were between 15 and 20 people present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether there was anyone at the meetings from Johns Hopkins University?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes; there was a Professor Blumberg and his wife, Dorothy Blumberg. I remember a fight centering around his wife at a convention when one of the brothers proposed to ask her to leave the hall because he knew she was spying for the Communist Party. This was a union convention she was asked to leave. She was present along with Professor Blumberg. They used to criticize him because he talked real slow, like he was lecturing people all the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What meetings are you referring to now?

Mr. SAMPLER. State committee. That is what Thomas said they were.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know a person by the name of Winston Edwards?

Mr. SAMPLER. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he attend any of those meetings, so far as you know?

Mr. SAMPLER. No; I never knew Winston Edwards to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred a few minutes ago to the holding of study classes in the District of Columbia. Will you tell the committee about that?

Mr. SAMPLER. There was a class held at 4402, and Thomas selected me as the person to go and attend this class. It was on the national question as written by Joe Stalin. Thomas told me that I was picked out to be trained for leadership, and that I should go to this class and learn something new.

This was on the national question, and they put it like this, that Negroes were a national minority and therefore they were a nation within a nation. That was the first part of the class. I attended three or four sessions. That they were a nation within a nation, and all the way from Delaware down to Florida and the tip of the Gulf of Mexico to Texas constituted the Black Belt, and that could be considered as a nation within a nation.

They tried to teach they were a nation within a nation according to the teachings of Stalin, and they had the same culture, same common background, lived in the same territory, did the same kind of work, contributed to the same kind of economy, and therefore they were a nation within a nation according to Joe Stalin.

The question was raised that this would be done when the Communists would take over. Mind you, down below they tell all the little fellows to break down segregation, and at the top they were teaching the leaders that when they took over they would segregate the Negroes away from the other citizens of the United States. So I differed, and they called me stupid and everything else. I argued with the person conducting the class, and Chet Kurrier jumped up in my defense. He said I hadn't been around long enough and therefore didn't understand the mumbo-jumbo and that sort of thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you understand it was the Soviet plan and the Communist plan that when the Soviet Union took over in this country a separate nation of colored people would be formed?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is exactly what they tried to form. Thomas attended the latter part of one session of the class and tried to clarify certain things, and he spent quite a bit of time "straightening me out," as he called it, on the Negro question.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, the party line was to oppose segregation, and at the same time advocate the establishment of a segregated community?

Mr. SAMPLER. After the overthrowing they would set it up on a large scale. When you would pin them down on those things they could always create a reason for doing it, for doing anything.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated this meeting was held at 4402. What street was that?

Mr. SAMPLER. Georgia Avenue NW.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the names of any other persons who attended this class?

Mr. SAMPLER. Charles "Top" Payne; Chet Kurrier; Lois, Chet's wife. She was mixed up on it too. They spent some time on her, and me, they just gave me up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Anyone else?

Mr. SAMPLER. Nonnie Lautman, she was then. I think she has a different name now. She was present at some of those classes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Nonnie Lautman known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. I had attended Communist Party meetings with her around November of 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Any others that you can recall?

Mr. SAMPLER. William S. Johnson would come in and help clarify things.

One fellow who I learned lives in Atlanta, Ga., now, Henry Morse, and his wife attended some of these classes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many attended them in all, do you think?

Mr. SAMPLER. Approximately 18 or 20. It would vary from time to time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many of these classes did you attend?

Mr. SAMPLER. About three sessions. They were held in 1 week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any other study groups in addition to that one?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. I attended several classes on the party's line. When things weren't too clear they would give me some literature to read.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your earlier testimony reference was made to Pasquale Leonard James Branca.

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you become acquainted with him?

Mr. SAMPLER. The first meeting I attended outside of the Douglas Club was at Branca's house.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of a meeting was it?

Mr. SAMPLER. It was a Communist meeting, but whether it was under a committee or a commission, I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he hold any position in the Communist Party in the District of Columbia at that time, to your knowledge?

Mr. SAMPLER. Not that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. This address, 4402 Georgia Avenue, is it a private home or an apartment building, or what is it?

Mr. SAMPLER. It is the Jewish Community Center, I believe that is the name.

Mr. TAVENNER. You made reference earlier in your testimony to the Civil Rights Congress. Are you a member of that organization in the District of Columbia?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes; I had joined the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us the circumstances under which you became a member, if you recall.

Mr. SAMPLER. I have even forgotten who I turned my membership over to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you advised by anyone to join?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. I had heard it discussed in city committee meetings and in club meetings, to get all the Communists they could in the Civil Rights Congress. That phrase was used by a woman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know her name?

Mr. SAMPLER. No, I don't. I joined. It cost \$1.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you solicit the membership of any other persons in that organization?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes; I have asked people to join.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. I remember soliciting approximately four or five people for membership in the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. What members of the Civil Rights Congress were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. Tom Buchanan was present at one of those city committee meetings, too. In fact, that is the only Communist meeting I have ever been in with Tom Buchanan.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of meeting was that?

Mr. SAMPLER. A meeting of the city committee of the Communist Party. When I met Tom Buchanan he was introduced to me by William C. Taylor, who told me, "Here is a man who gave up his job with one of the newspapers here. (I believe it was the Star.) He told his boss he was a Communist, and they fired him." He said, "If we had a guy that brave in the party, the party would give him a job." I was only at one Communist meeting with Tom Buchanan, and that was a meeting of the city committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say he was a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. SAMPLER. He was executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge of your own as to how he became executive secretary of that organization?

Mr. SAMPLER. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the names of others known to you to be members of the Communist Party who were members of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. SAMPLER. No, I can't recall offhand.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a member of the Communist Party, were you active in any other organizations?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. I was active in the Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part did your Communist Party affiliation have in your taking part in the Progressive Party work?

Mr. SAMPLER. We were also instructed back in 1948 to get as many people from within the party as possible to build the Pro-

gressive Party, because that was the only party for Negroes and labor, and so forth. And I did. I got several people to join the Progressive Party, and I met people in the Progressive Party. You see, there was a fight going on in the Progressive Party all the time between the Communists and the Liberals. There was a fight going on over policy between the Communist forces and the Liberal forces. I was elected to the city committee of the Communist Party, and Thomas said I had been chosen to be on the executive board of the Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there other persons known to you to be Communists who held positions of importance in the Progressive Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, Gertrude Evans.

Before the union election this year I didn't rejoin, and that caused a big scare why I didn't rejoin the Progressive Party. I knew Gertrude Evans and Sally Peake to be active in the Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you name others who are known to you to be members of the Communist Party and who are active in the Progressive Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. William S. Johnson; Henry Thomas; myself; and there were others in there who followed the Communist Party line that I had never met as Communists. Some names I may be able to recall that I did meet with.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent was the matter of Communist Party policy discussed among the Communists separately and then with the members of the Progressive Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. I couldn't say that exactly. We would discuss what name to put down, but Thomas would always tell me I was on this or that committee. In the Douglas Club we were told to get as many people as we could to join the Progressive Party, but the policy and big contacts was Thomas' job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with a group known as the Negro Commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. No; I am not, other than what I read in the Daily Worker about Pettis Perry being national secretary, I believe, of the Negro Commission, and Thomas introduced him as that in his office, but as to the work of it, I don't know about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you personally acquainted with Pettis Perry?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. I met him several times, on several occasions.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his connection with Communist Party matters in the District at that time?

Mr. SAMPLER. He preached the Negro side, and joining hands with the white allies in order to carry out the Communist Party line.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other Communist Party activities did you engage in outside of your work in your labor union?

Mr. SAMPLER. There isn't any that I can recall other than the Progressive Party and the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any other work of any kind that you did or were asked to do as a result of your Communist Party membership?

Mr. SAMPLER. None that I can recall offhand. There were a lot of citizens' committees formed on different things, and Thomas would always ask me to be his representative on these committees, and I felt that a lot of these things were being spearheaded by the Communists. I went to a lot of meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us more information about the matters you refer to?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes. At one of those meetings I had an awful fight with people on the committee who were not Communists over the policy that was to be carried out. One was the Negro freedom rally that was held here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about that.

Mr. SAMPLER. There were a lot of differences going on between myself and Winston Edwards, and they put me in charge of one of the committees. My committee didn't function right. There were certain ones in the group who were not Communists who wanted me to become chairman of the rally. It boiled down to this: I was convinced in Thomas' office that I should assist him in providing protection for Robeson when he came here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Paul Robeson?

Mr. SAMPLER. That is right. Well, I was the guy that did the work, and when it came time to show up in public, while Thomas and I were supposed to be Robeson's bodyguards, I was the bodyguard and Thomas was out in the audience, which would picture me as the top Communist. Looking back, I can see how they very cleverly used me.

There were other citizens' committees formed. There was one committee that I suggested they organize to fight a fare increase. They could not get their line on that, so they let the committee die out.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of Paul Robeson being here for a meeting. What were the circumstances under which he was brought here? Who sponsored his being brought here?

Mr. SAMPLER. It was just a citizens' committee that sponsored it. It was our union and local 471, the cafeteria local, and local 209 I think had representatives, and the Civil Rights Congress had a representative there; the Progressive Party, and a lot of people. I think one home society group had a representative.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with the so-called Stockholm Peace Petition?

Mr. SAMPLER. Not as such, but I think I did sign a petition that was given to me by one of the members of the union by the name of Tom Brooks. It was a petition about the United Nations doing something about the atomic bomb. But I did not sign it knowing that it was the Stockholm Peace Petition.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that petition circulated in your union?

Mr. SAMPLER. Relating to the atomic bomb? It was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who circulated it?

Mr. SAMPLER. Tom Brooks. And I was told that after Paul was fired he was down on the concrete circulating petitions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAMPLER. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When do you consider that your affiliations with the Communist Party terminated?

Mr. SAMPLER. At the time that I signed the affidavit; prior to that, actually. And I would like to say this, that being surrounded with Communists and being opposed to them, it took quite some time in the union to organize in order to expose them to the membership and

to expose their program and to fight against their program. It took quite some time to do that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were consulted by an investigator of this committee some months ago, were you not?

Mr. SAMPLER. Yes, and I have talked with agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, too, relative to what was going on and everything, in fact, the full story, just as it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you any other information that you think might be of value to this committee that you have not divulged?

Mr. SAMPLER. Information?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, anything else regarding your Communist Party activities or your knowledge of Communist Party activities which you think the committee would be interested to hear. Is there anything else you have not told us that you think might be of interest to the committee?

Mr. SAMPLER. I might say this: When I was Paul Robeson's body-guard I had a chance to observe him very closely, and I could see that the Communists were trying to picture Paul Robeson as the true leader of the Negro people. They would try to picture in the minds of the Negroes that leaders like Walter White of the NAACP, LeRoy Wilkins, and the secretary of the Urban League, Granger, I believe, did not represent the Negro people as such, and they would try to say Paul Robeson was the leader of the Negro people and that the so-called leaders were traitors to their people, and that kind of stuff.

At close view I had a chance to attend a press conference where the reporter questioned Robeson at great length. Paul Robeson was using Russia as an example, and he said that over in Russia a maid who works for an engineer can go to school at night when she finishes work. The reporter said, "Well, Mr. Robeson, in the United States a maid can do the same thing." The reporter went to great lengths to show that classes really existed in Russia, and Robeson was forced to admit it, and I was able to see through this thing that had been built up by the Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. You are discharged, with the thanks of the committee.

Mr. SAMPLER. And I would like to say, too, that I hope this is only the beginning. I am sorry to see this session of Congress so near an end, but I hope in the Eighty-second Congress things will be organized quick and fast in order to do something to stop the infiltration of Communists into democratic institutions, because I know from experience that their method is to tear down these institutions, and I think something should be done real soon.

Mr. WALTER. Thank you very much. The committee will recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 12:20 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m., Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.)

Mr. WALTER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. TAVENNER, call your first witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. William Gray.

Mr. WALTER. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GRAY. I do.

Mr. WALTER. Sit down.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM GRAY

Mr. TAVENNER. Your name is William Gray?

Mr. GRAY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. GRAY. Charlotte, N. C., January 1, 1896.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. GRAY. 1208 Quincy Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. GRAY. Business agent for Building Laborers' Local 74.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been business agent?

Mr. GRAY. Since June 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position in that union prior to June 1947?

Mr. GRAY. One year as business agent from 1944 to 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were business agent in the year 1944-45?

Mr. GRAY. June 1944 to June 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. From June 1944 to June 1945?

Mr. GRAY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you defeated for that office in June 1945 and then reelected to it in 1947?

Mr. GRAY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member?

Mr. GRAY. No, not now.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. Well, to tell you frankly, it is kind of hard to say. I used to go around with a lot of fellows and was accused of being one, but I wasn't carrying any book or anything like that. Sometimes I would attend meetings with them and sympathize and things like that. When the Douglas Club was organized in 1945 I started my book.

Mr. TAVENNER. When the Douglas Club was organized?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who recruited you into the Communist Party, do you remember?

Mr. GRAY. No. I don't think anybody did. We just got together and I just came in there. Who recruited me, I couldn't say to save my life.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether you held office at that time in your local union, or whether it was during the period you did not hold office?

Mr. GRAY. In 1946 or 1947, I wasn't holding an office then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand that at the time you joined the Douglas Club you were not an officer of the union?

Mr. GRAY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not?

Mr. GRAY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it must have been between June 1945 and the time you were elected to office again in 1947?

Mr. GRAY. Yes. I think it was the first of 1946, after the war was over.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the war, in 1946?

Mr. GRAY. 1946 or 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you became a member of the Douglas Club?

Mr. GRAY. Yes. I don't know when it was set up, but when it was set up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the members of that club when it was first started?

Mr. GRAY. When it was first started it was small. There was Henry Thomas; myself; Ernest Chambers; and Gladys Thomas. That is all I can recall at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of other persons who became members at a later time?

Mr. GRAY. Norris Hammond; Thomas Waller.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the first name?

Mr. GRAY. Norris Hammond. Thomas Waller; McKinley Gray; Leroy Coad.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell the last name?

Mr. GRAY. C-o-a-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long was it after you joined the Douglas Club before you were elected to office as business agent in your union?

Mr. GRAY. I was elected business agent in June of 1947, the first part of June, about the 3d or 7th or 10th; it varies each year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you consider that your membership in the Communist Party had anything to do with your election as business agent?

Mr. GRAY. I do not, because I do know some of them that were in there were fighting against my getting elected. I think I got elected on my own worth. When I was shop steward and business agent before I always got out and worked for the members in the field, and when you do that they will remember you when election time comes around.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other members of the Douglas Club were elected to office in the union at the same time that you were?

Mr. GRAY. I can't recall. Henry Thomas wasn't elected at that time. I think Sampler was elected president that year.

Mr. TAVENNER. The time you were elected as business agent was not the time that Thomas was elected president?

Mr. GRAY. No. Sampler was elected president the same year that I was elected business agent, in 1947, if I am not mistaken. I think that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you pay your Communist Party dues?

Mr. GRAY. Sometimes I would pay to Mrs. Thomas; and sometimes somebody else would come collect it; and sometimes I didn't pay it at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend any Communist Party meetings in other groups than the Douglas Club?

Mr. GRAY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not?

Mr. GRAY. No. I went to one mass meeting. I wouldn't call it a Communist meeting. I don't know what it was. It was up on Georgia Avenue, several years ago. I don't remember who was the speaker. It was some guy from Africa or the West Indies, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any Communist Party meetings in Baltimore?

Mr. GRAY. About three or four.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of meetings were they?

Mr. GRAY. Well, I think I was over there twice at conventions.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say conventions, conventions of what?

Mr. GRAY. Of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the other meetings that you attended besides those two?

Mr. GRAY. I think the State committee meetings; I took some fellows over there two or three times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whom did you take over there?

Mr. GRAY. Al Underwood, Jimmy Branca, and William Johnson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Elizabeth Searle?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position, if any, did she have in the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. Secretary, I think she was, here in the District.

Mr. TAVENNER. She was secretary in the District organization.

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Mary Stalcup?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did she have in the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. GRAY. She was head of literature or something. I know she worked in the office. She was collecting money.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any other persons who attended your Douglas Club meetings who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. William Taylor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that William C. Taylor?

Mr. GRAY. Yes. I don't think William Johnson ever attended our meetings. If he did, I can't recall. I didn't attend all the meetings, anyway, and I wouldn't know who was there. Ray Pinkson. I always called him Ray. He was assigned to that club for a while.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ray Pinkson?

Mr. GRAY. Yes. I never did know his last name until I heard you discuss Pinkson, or something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was his name Raymond, do you know?

Mr. GRAY. The only thing I ever called him was Ray.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ray Pinkson?

Mr. GRAY. Something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what his occupation was?

Mr. GRAY. All I know, he was an electrician.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know if he was a member of any other organization or branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. No. All I know is he was supposed to be a Communist and was in our branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. See if you can recall the names of any others who attended your meetings.

Mr. GRAY. Not many attended the meetings. Sometimes a fellow would come up with a lecture and jack us up on our dues, something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know a person by the name of Roy Wood?

Mr. GRAY. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What affiliation did he have, if any, with your organization?

Mr. GRAY. Roy was assigned to our unit, I don't know if it was 1948 or early 1949. The first night he came there the meeting was broken up, and I quit. I don't know if it was early 1948 or 1949. I just quit. I haven't attended any other meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the meetings held?

Mr. GRAY. At 1368 Canal Street; at 406 N Street, Ernest Chambers'.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whose home was the first address you gave?

Mr. GRAY. Henry Thomas'.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officers of the Douglas Club?

Mr. GRAY. Henry Thomas.

Mr. TAVENNER. What office did he hold?

Mr. GRAY. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the secretary-treasurer?

Mr. GRAY. That club there, it looked like they never could keep a secretary. Mrs. Thomas was secretary for a while, and then somebody else was elected, and then sometimes nobody collected dues. There was always confusion about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it that you say you left the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. I don't know if it was the last of 1948 or the first of 1949, but I do know I attended one meeting after Roy Wood was sent here from Baltimore. I don't remember if it was the last of 1948 or the first of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your reason for quitting?

Mr. GRAY. Just dissatisfied.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any connection with the Communist Party since that date?

Mr. GRAY. No. I don't aim to. That is why I quit.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. You are excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Norris Hammond.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand, please, Mr. Hammond. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HAMMOND. I do.

Mr. WALTER. Sit down.

TESTIMONY OF NORRIS HAMMOND

Mr. TAVENNER. Your name is Norris Hammond?

Mr. HAMMOND. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Mr. HAMMOND. 849 Howard Road SE., apartment 2.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. HAMMOND. Westmoreland County, Va., 1911, January 2.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. HAMMOND. Construction, doing construction work for Tuckman-Rinis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tuckman & Rinis?

Mr. HAMMOND. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HAMMOND. I was before this Taft-Hartley affidavit came out, sometime before that came out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us how you became a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HAMMOND. Henry Thomas recruited me in, whatever that meant. I was just in there. I didn't know what it was all about. I just joined a club as far as I was concerned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of any union at the time you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HAMMOND. Local 74.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position in your union at the time you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. HAMMOND. I think not. When I—say that again?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will change the question. When did you become a member of the Communist Party, in what year?

Mr. HAMMOND. 1947 or 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you joined the Communist Party did you hold any position, any office, in your local union?

Mr. HAMMOND. So far as I can remember, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you later elected or appointed to an office?

Mr. HAMMOND. I was elected.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that office?

Mr. HAMMOND. Sergeant at arms.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you so elected?

Mr. HAMMOND. It must have been 1947, because in June of this year it will make 3 years I have served in that office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go in office at the same time Henry Thomas went into office?

Mr. HAMMOND. I think I did; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What branch of the Communist Party did you affiliate with when you became a member?

Mr. HAMMOND. The Douglas Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the members of that branch?

Mr. HAMMOND. William Gray; Henry Thomas; McKinley Gray; Thomas Waller; and Mose Mannigan, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that last name?

Mr. HAMMOND. Mose Mannigan. I don't know where he lives or anything.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend branch meetings of any other branch besides the one that you were a member of?

Mr. HAMMOND. I attended one meeting in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of a meeting was that?

Mr. HAMMOND. I don't know. All I know, I just went over there. Somebody said, "Let's go to Baltimore to a meeting." I got in a car

and went. Whether it was a convention, or just what it was, I honestly don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it a meeting of the Communist Party or a union meeting?

Mr. HAMMOND. It was a Communist Party meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who went with you?

Mr. HAMMOND. Some people went, I didn't know, but I was traveling with William Gray. The other people that were in the car with us, I didn't know them to start with.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Roy H. Wood?

Mr. HAMMOND. I am not acquainted with him. I have heard the man's name and I have seen him, but I wouldn't know him now if I was to see him. I have met the man someplace.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with James Branca?

Mr. HAMMOND. Never seen him. I have heard of him, but never seen him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Robert Paul?

Mr. HAMMOND. Yes, sir. He used to work down at the hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been in a Communist Party meeting with him?

Mr. HAMMOND. As near as I can remember, I don't think I have. Wait a minute. I am not sure of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the Communist Party meetings held which you attended, that is, the meetings of the Douglas Club?

Mr. HAMMOND. We met at Canal Street, 1368; and on N Street sometimes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whose home was that on N Street?

Mr. HAMMOND. I think that was Chambers', 406 or 604.

Mr. TAVENNER. And whose home was the first address you mentioned?

Mr. HAMMOND. Henry Thomas'.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall meeting at any other places?

Mr. HAMMOND. I think we met at Sampler's once. I think we did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee how you happened to get out of the Communist Party.

Mr. HAMMOND. It was just like I said. After I became sergeant at arms up at the local, in fact, before this Taft-Hartley affidavit came up, the club broke up months, it seems like to me, before that, and everybody got scattered, and I forgot about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit?

Mr. HAMMOND. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall when it was?

Mr. HAMMOND. Whenever it was the Labor Relations Board requested that all officers of local unions had to sign.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did anyone advise or direct you to sign it?

Mr. HAMMOND. It was talked over. I don't know if it was at a meeting or what, but I know it was told to me that everybody had to sign this affidavit, so we all met at the hall and signed it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hand in any resignation to the Communist Party in writing before you signed it?

Mr. HAMMOND. I never knew anything about resigning.

As far as I was concerned, it was an ordinary club I joined, so when the club broke up I thought that was all. Nobody told me about resigning.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you didn't take any active part in this Communist club?

Mr. HAMMOND. I didn't know what it was all about.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions.

Mr. WALTER. You are excused. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Roy Wood.

Mr. FORER (Joseph). Mr. Walter, I wish to enter an objection to the absence of a quorum.

Mr. WALTER. Let the record disclose that the question of a quorum not being present is raised. I might state that the chairman of the committee has designated me as a subcommittee of one to conduct the hearing this afternoon.

Mr. FORER. Let the record show we are proceeding under protest, and that the only member of the committee present is Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand, Mr. Wood. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WOOD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROY H. WOOD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your full name?

Mr. WOOD. Roy H. Wood.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. WOOD. I was born in Caldwell, Idaho, November 13, 1914.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. Tavenner, I have a statement here which I would like to read before the committee and have placed in the record.

Mr. WALTER. We will defer it until after the committee counsel has asked such questions as he sees fit to ask.

Mr. WOOD. If you please, Mr. Thomas made a statement to the committee yesterday, and I would like the same privilege.

Mr. WALTER. You will have the privilege after you have testified. Mr. Thomas was given the privilege after he had cooperated in giving the committee information on the machinations of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.

Mr. WOOD. Am I to understand I will be given the privilege of reading the statement at the close of my testimony?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee a brief statement of your record of employment?

Mr. WOOD. That would be impossible without weeks of research. I have worked at any number of jobs since the time I came out of school, including cooking, service in the merchant marine, piano playing, work in a steel mill, work in a construction company. The list of jobs would be too long. I would have to sit down and do research and write employers, and it would be impossible for me at this point to give a complete record of employment.

Mr. WALTER. Suppose you give it to the best of your recollection.

Mr. WOOD. Even to the best of my recollection I wouldn't like to keep you here all day.

Mr. WALTER. That is all right. I haven't another thing to do.

Mr. WOOD. When I came out of school I washed dishes in a restaurant.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. WOOD. I don't remember just what year.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't remember when you finished school?

Mr. WOOD. Sometime in the 1930's; sometime, I think, between 1935 and 1940, but I don't know any closer than that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you finish school?

Mr. WOOD. I had two years at the College of Idaho, at Caldwell, Idaho.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the last year you attended that college?

Mr. WOOD. I am not sure of that. It could have been 1934 or 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was either 1934 or 1935?

Mr. WOODS. I wouldn't definitely state so. It would be about that time, but I couldn't say so without having the records in front of me.

Mr. WALTER. Certainly if this witness doesn't remember the last year he was in school, I don't know that any of his testimony would be of much value to the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to make the same observation.

Mr. WOOD. I would like to object—

Mr. WALTER. You are not objecting, you see. You are merely asked to answer questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed to tell us what you did when you left college sometime between 1934 and 1940.

Mr. WOOD. Well, I washed dishes in a restaurant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. WOOD. That was at the Table Rock Cafe, at Boise, Idaho.

Mr. TAVENNER. How soon after you left college?

Mr. WOOD. I think in the same year that I left college.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. WOOD. I worked for the Works Progress Administration.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. WOOD. I worked on a construction project building a canal from Barber, Idaho, to somewhere near Boise, Idaho.

I worked on another project digging trenches for an airport being built at Boise, Idaho.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was also a WPA project?

Mr. WOOD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what year?

Mr. WOOD. I don't remember what year.

I worked on a contract that was not WPA for the Phillips Construction Co., which was resurfacing a dam, Arrow Rock Dam, about 30 miles from Boise.

I worked in a carnival-type amusement park where you throw a ball to win a kewpie doll.

I worked for farmers pitching hay. I worked with stock for the same farmers.

I was in the CCC working on reforestation.

I worked for the forestry department pulling up ribes, that spread white-pine-blister rust.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that done?

Mr. WOOD. Near the town of Coolin, Idaho.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that work performed?

Mr. WOOD. I don't remember what year. I worked on so many jobs. It was in the summertime. You can't work in the forest in the winter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us some idea what year it was?

Mr. WOOD. I think it was above 1937 or 1938 or 1939.

I also worked fighting forest fires about that time, also in the forest around Payette, Idaho.

I worked picking potatoes. I worked picking peas on a piecework basis.

I came to Baltimore about 1939. I worked for the Federal Government, Federal Security Agency, in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did that work begin?

Mr. WOOD. That work began sometime late in 1939. I worked there about 3 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What branch of the office did you work in?

Mr. WOOD. I worked all over the place. I worked in eight different parts of the files there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was your employer?

Mr. WOOD. Federal Security Agency.

Mr. TAVENNER. I meant to say your supervisor.

Mr. WOOD. I don't remember the names of any of my supervisors at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through whom did you obtain your appointment to that position?

Mr. WOOD. Through the Civil Service Commission. I took a civil-service examination like everyone else who goes to work there, and obtained my appointment by telegram saying I had passed a certain examination and was appointed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the persons you gave as reference in obtaining an appointment?

Mr. WOOD. That is something I couldn't possibly remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed.

Mr. WOOD. Well, since that time I have also worked for a bakery called the Ideal Baking Co. in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that immediately after you completed your work with the Government?

Mr. WOOD. No; it was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us again, you began your employment in Baltimore in 1939, did you say?

Mr. WOOD. I think it was sometime in 1939. I wouldn't be sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was the position that you had?

Mr. WOOD. I was a file clerk.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what department?

Mr. WOOD. Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you retained that how long?

Mr. WOOD. I think about 3 years, although I am not certain.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for the termination of your service with the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. WOOD. I resigned.

Mr. TAVENNER. For what purpose?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your resignation asked for?

Mr. WOOD. No; it was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you advised to resign?

Mr. WOOD. I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was purely a voluntary resignation on your part?

Mr. WOOD. That is true.

Mr. WALTER. Somewhere about 1942?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. I suppose I worked there about 3 years; I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what position did you take upon your resignation from the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you living at the time you resigned from the Federal Security Agency?

Mr. WOOD. I was living in the 2200 block of Calvert Street in Baltimore, but I don't remember the exact address.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue to live there?

Mr. WOOD. I don't remember. I moved from there to Pratt Street in East Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live on Pratt Street?

Mr. WOOD. I don't know, except I know I moved about the same time I entered the United States merchant marine.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when did you join the merchant marine?

Mr. WOOD. I don't know exactly what year. It was probably either 1943 or 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions did you hold between the time you resigned from the Federal Security Agency and the time you entered the merchant marine?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in the merchant marine?

Mr. WOOD. I was in the merchant marine until, I think it was August of 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you serve while in the merchant marine?

Mr. WOOD. Well, I sailed on a number of different ships. We went as far as Egypt at one time. Naples, Italy; Rouen, France; Barrow Dock in England.

We were in Naples Christmas Day when there was an air raid. We were in a convoy off the coast of Egypt when there was a submarine attack and a tanker went up in flames.

I received decorations for being in combat and for having served in the European theater and North Atlantic theater in that war.

Mr. TAVENNER. What decorations did you receive?

Mr. WOOD. North Atlantic ribbon; Mediterranean ribbon; and ribbon for having served in combat, in this air raid in Naples and in the submarine attack on the convoy off the coast of Egypt.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were the same ribbons received by all other men who served in the same units with you?

Mr. WOOD. Those who were in combat on the same ship I was on received the same ribbon; yes, indeed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the names of the ships on which you sailed, as far as you can remember?

Mr. WOOD. That would be very difficult to remember. One was *Pachaug Victory*. And I remember one was *Swift Arrow*, which was a tanker. I don't recall any others.

Mr. TAVENNER. You returned in 1945?

Mr. WOOD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you return to the city of Baltimore?

Mr. WOOD. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed from that time on?

Mr. WOOD. I went to work in a restaurant in East Baltimore called Mother Miller's Cafe. I was cook there about 6 weeks. I was fired there because I refused to serve tainted food and I objected to working in a place like that.

I went to work in a steel mill at Sparrows Point, as a laborer, and I was taught end-welding.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go to work on that job?

Mr. WOOD. I don't remember the month, but I think it was September or October 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue your employment there?

Mr. WOOD. I don't know the exact date, but I worked there 2 to 3 years; I think about 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would bring you up to what date, 1947 or 1948?

Mr. WOOD. Approximately, yes; about 1947. I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall in what month during 1947 you terminated your employment?

Mr. WOOD. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your next employment?

Mr. WOOD. I worked for the Standard Sanitary Corp. It is now called the American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corp., on Holabird Avenue in Baltimore. They make sinks, bathtubs, and so forth, in that plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mr. WOOD. About 2 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your next employment?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the date when your employment with the American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corp. terminated?

Mr. WOOD. No, I cannot. I think it must have been in 1947, or maybe it was later.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you living in Baltimore at that time?

Mr. WOOD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue to live in Baltimore?

Mr. WOOD. I don't remember. I lived in Baltimore for a short time after that, before I moved to Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you move to Washington?

Mr. WOOD. I don't know the exact month that I moved to Washington. I didn't expect this type of questions, after hearing the questions the last few days, and I didn't come prepared to answer those questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. What employment have you had since you moved to Washington?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a page of the Times-Herald, Washington, D. C., Saturday, July 15, 1950, entitled

"Peace Petition Under Direction of D. C. Commie," written by William Kloepfer, Jr. I will just ask you to glance at that.

In the course of this article appears the following language:

Wood is 36 * * * and lives in the 1500 block Wisconsin Avenue NW. He was elected Communist chairman for the District at a convention 2 years ago. His salary, he explained, is paid by party dues and contributions.

Is that statement correct?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photostatic copy of news article in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Wood Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The photostat above referred to, marked "Wood Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now a photostatic copy of a portion of a page from the Washington Post of March 19, 1949, and point out to you a letter under the column "Letters to the Editor," purporting to be signed by Roy H. Wood, secretary, Communist Party, District of Columbia, and I will ask you if you wrote that letter?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that page in evidence and ask that it be marked "Wood Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WALTER. It will be received.

(The photostat above referred to, marked "Wood Exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. WALTER. I should like to ask a question relating to the first exhibit, which states:

He [Roy H. Wood] arrived at Communist Party headquarters, 527 Ninth Street NW., yesterday morning carrying an armload of blank petitions.

Then there is a quote:

"I don't know who else is circulating the petitions," he said. "We're just one of the organizations supporting this drive to outlaw the atom bomb."

Did you make that statement?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me, but I would like to say here today in front of this committee that I fully endorse that statement; that whoever made that statement, I endorse it 100 percent. I think the wanton desecration and horrible murder that has come from the atom bomb already is decidedly bad, and an international agreement to outlaw the atom bomb should be reached immediately.

Mr. WALTER. I agree with you entirely, and a great opportunity has been given the Commies to cooperate in that worth-while effort.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in circulating the peace petitions referred to in that article?

Mr. WOOD. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you do so as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present during the testimony of Henry Thomas?

Mr. WOOD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present during the testimony of Thomas Sampler?

Mr. WOOD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present during the testimony of Norris Hammond?

Mr. WOOD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Each of those three persons identified you as a member of the Douglas Club of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia and as having been in attendance at its meetings. Are those statements true?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me. Further, I should like to raise certain objections to this committee bringing stool pigeons here—

Mr. WALTER. Never mind. You have been very, very smart, and we have tolerated you, but there is a limit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you secretary of the city organization of the Communist Party during 1948 or 1949?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you now living?

Mr. WOOD. I live at 1517 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived there?

Mr. WOOD. I have lived there since I came to Washington about two and a half years ago. I don't know the exact date.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. I would like to read my statement.

Mr. WALTER. You can leave it.

Mr. WOOD. No. You promised me, sir, I could read it.

Mr. WALTER. I changed my mind, and I don't propose to let you read it. The only fortunate part of your testimony here today is that some of the unwitting tools have seen where their contributions are going and who is being supported by the hard-earned money they contribute to the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. You have just given an expression of opinion. I should like to read my statement.

Mr. WALTER. I have changed my mind about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. It will be made part of the record.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY ROY WOOD

It is no accident that at this particular moment, I was ordered to appear this morning before your committee. It is no accident at all that your committee has selected this moment to reopen its hearings on so-called subversive activities in the Nation's capital. Your decision to do so is part of the drive toward war. You are attempting to exploit the war crisis and to deepen the elements of hysteria which prevail by reopening the hearing.

The purpose of the committee's hearing is to engage in a fury of Red baiting against all persons who fight for peace, because we firmly believe that the Korean War can be ended by getting our Government to declare a cease-fire order to our troops and to call upon the Korean-Chinese commanders to do the same. We believe that all issues of dispute can be settled on the basis of peaceful negotiations between our Government and the Governments of Northern Korea and People's China. The position of your committee is to try to stampede our country and people into total atomic war, not only with the 450,000,000 Chinese people, but likewise with the Soviet Union.

Your committee is dragging more red herrings across the front pages of our newspapers in order to cover up the real attack which is being directed against a big local union of Negro and white workers, members of the American Federation of Labor. In the guise of a Red hunt, your committee is engaging in a political lynching bee of respected Negro labor leaders in Washington, D. C.

Instead of trying to end the shameful blot of segregation and Jim Crow in the Nation's Capital, your committee is out to crucify those Negro and white progressive leaders who seek to establish elementary democracy in Washington. We have no surplus of democracy in Washington to be able to export it to Korea or anywhere else.

I charge that this House Committee on Un-American Activities is un-American in character and pro-Fascist in its attitude, methods, and practices. Your committee is attempting—

1. To try to use me and others in order to compile a blacklist of progressive Negro and white people in Washington, to intimidate them, and cut them off from making a livelihood or obtaining employment in this city; or,

2. Failing to force honest men and women to turn stool pigeons, to prepare a new batch of political victims who will then be cited for contempt and thrown into jail by your committee.

My ancestors fought in 1776 to establish this Republic with its Constitution and Bill of Rights for the people; my great-grandfather took a most active part in the abolitionist movement in our country to end the vile, inhuman system of chattel slavery. The actions of this committee are a shameful disgrace to all who have gloriously fought for American freedom.

Mr. WALTER. Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ernest Chambers.

Mr. WALTER. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

Mr. WALTER. Sit down.

TESTIMONY OF ERNEST L. CHAMBERS

Mr. TAVENNER. Your name is Ernest L. Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 406 N Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Washington, D. C., October 27, 1906.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you employed?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Laborer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee a brief account of your record of employment in the past 4 or 5 years?

Mr. CHAMBERS. As far as I can go. I don't recollect from day to day. In our type of work you go from contractor to contractor. It is not a stable type of work. Out of a year you might work with two contractors or with more, or you might stay with the same contractor. It depends how well you get along with the personnel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee how you were recruited into the Communist Party, how you became a member, who took your application, who induced you to become a member of the Communist Party, if anyone.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, it goes back to about the second or third month, around the second month, of 1943. That would be February 1943. I

was working at that time at Nineteenth and B for Harry H. Thompson. I was doing some alteration to the armory, building a cafeteria, and doing alterations on the cafeteria outside and inside. I was made a steward on that job, and I worked with Thomas. They were looking for Thomas that day and missed him, and since I was eligible they made me the steward.

From then on Thomas and myself had conversations, and he invited me to the club. They used to have a social club, the Echo Club. I would say it was really a clearinghouse for those they were recruiting.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say the Echo Club was a clearinghouse for those they were going to recruit into the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right. We would evaluate them and criticize them. I suppose the same thing was done on me, too. I did it on others.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean you became a member back in 1943?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. It must have been around the third month, because the second month I was made steward. Thomas and myself were working together. Around March or April I must have become a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who brought you into the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Thomas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Henry Thomas?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; he was my recruiter.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time I understood you were a member of a union?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What union was that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Local 74. I was about 2 years old as a member then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position in the union at that time, in 1943, when you went into the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; not at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you elected to an official position in the union after you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. There was a special election that year. All I had to do was vote for myself, though. I was elected trustee in 1943. When I went in service I was a trustee. That was around April of 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were taken into the Communist Party in 1943, were you assigned to any special group of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The Douglas Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was known as that back in 1943?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were other persons who were members back in 1943?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In 1943?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Henry Thomas; Mrs. Gladys Thomas; William Gray; Waller, or something like that; and Norris Hammond. How many is that, about five, or six? And myself. Some stragglers would

come in, but I am vague on their names. We always had some visitors. It looked like it was a club where if somebody didn't fit in any place else, came here looking for a job, they would stick him in our club for a while.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position in the Communist Party yourself, in the club?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you pay dues?

Mr. CHAMBERS. To the secretary, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was president of the club at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I never heard anyone referred to as president. I always heard Thomas referred to as chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue in the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Until I went in the service. I went in the service January 16 or 23, 1944, active duty. I got my 21 days back in December.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you serve while in the Army?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Southwest Pacific. That is, when I went overseas.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your unit; what branch of the service were you in?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I served first at my base, antiaircraft. Then I was transferred to a fuel gas outfit, dispensary outfit. Then I went overseas with a trucking unit, all Quartermaster except antiaircraft.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in any Communist activities while in service?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. I never met anyone I knew.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you return from service?

Mr. CHAMBERS. About November 21 or 17, 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you reunite with the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; somewhere around January of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us the circumstances under which you reaffiliated with the party.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, one day I was downtown just walking around. I happened to run into Thomas. We met and started talking, and from there we went up to the office. Before I went into service I had been accustomed to going on Ninth Street. We went in and chatted. This was late in December. I think, in 1945, so it must have been around January 1946 that I went back into the local. I think the local had been active from that time on, though, because certain members never went in the service. I think the club had been functioning all the time I was away, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of other persons who became members of that club after you reunited with it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In the years around 1947 we had only one outstanding recruit, and that was Sampler. That was around 1947—an outstanding recruit. We made attempts to recruit another person, but he only attended one meeting. That was Leroy Coad. I think he only came out of curiosity. I don't think he ever intended to be a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Roy Wood?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his affiliation with the Communist Party, if you know?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I always understood he was secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he the same person who testified just before you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with a person by the name of Robert Paul?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Sure. Even before I went into service.

Mr. TAVENNER. What affiliation did he have, if any, with the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The only thing I knew of him was being distributor. What his rank was other than that, I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by distributor?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The literature, books, and what not. He used to be up in the office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the subject of complaint by members of the union?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; that was one of the chief complaints, too much Red literature around the hall. Sampler didn't have no control over them. It seemed to come down from the other boys. It just kept the local in a turmoil.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions did Sampler have at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Financial secretary-treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say he was unable to control—did you mean officers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; employees and officers, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by that, that he was unable to control them?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The answer would be that we have to consider what the other fellows say from the Communist affiliations.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you were getting directions from the Communist Party and following those directions rather than the directions of officials of the union?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me go back and ask you another question. Did you become acquainted with a person by the name of James Branca?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right. He was secretary years ago before he went into service.

Mr. TAVENNER. Secretary of what?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Of the Communist Party of District of Columbia. After I came out of service I didn't see anything of Branca except I think once by accident I met him in the street and I was going his way and he took me home.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend Communist Party meetings with him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Secretaries, as I understand, come around to all the meetings and clubs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he come to meetings that you attended?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is correct; but that was back in 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you are not now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you break with the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Around April 1949, when we signed the non-Communist affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write in a letter of resignation?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you address that letter?

Mr. CHAMBERS;. I addressed the letter to Roy Wood. I gave it to Paul.

Mr. TAVENNER. You gave it to Paul?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. Paul was working in the office at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What discussions did you have, if any, with members of the Communist Party, as to whether you should sign such an affidavit?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, it was understood that Thomas and Sampler were also members, and Gray; that was about four officials that had to sign non-Communist affidavits to my knowledge. Advice was given to sign them. But quite a few things were overlooked. We were not told to list our affiliations on the back. I understood since only one out of three Communists had their affiliations listed, and that was Henry Thomas. Sampler and myself didn't have our past affiliations listed. We were left in the air on that one.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say instructions or directions were handed down to sign the affidavits?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Thomas and Sampler were Communists, and I took orders from them. I thought it was a good thing to sign and break away, because it says just that. Only one little clause, to list my past affiliations on the back, I was ignorant to that part.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any affiliation or connection with the Communist Party since that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I wouldn't say yes or no, but I do think I did deal with some fronts, not realizing what I was doing. I was in this Robeson affair. I think that was only a front.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. You are excused. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to recall Roy Wood if he is still here.

TESTIMONY OF ROY H. WOOD—Recalled

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wood, I hand you Thomas exhibit X, which is a copy of a letter bearing date February 15, 1949, addressed to Mr. Roy Wood, D. C. secretary, Communist Party, Washington, D. C., in which Henry Thomas resigns from the Communist Party. Did you receive the original of that letter, and did you receive similar letters from Thomas Sampler and from Ernest Chambers?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions.

Mr. WALTER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Could I read my statement now, sir?

Mr. WALTER. No. It is a part of the record. It is just the usual Commie line. Everybody knows what it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. McKinley Gray.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand, please. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GRAY. I do.

Mr. WALTER. Sit down.

TESTIMONY OF McKINLEY GRAY

Mr. TAVENNER. You are McKinley Gray?

Mr. GRAY. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live?

Mr. GRAY. 53½ Hanover Place NW.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. GRAY. Chester, S. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Washington?

Mr. GRAY. Regular since 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your employment?

Mr. GRAY. Construction.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. I signed my name on some kind of little membership card. I didn't take a good look at it.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did this happen?

Mr. GRAY. I think that was in 1948 or 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did that occur; at whose house were you?

Mr. GRAY. 45 Ivy Street SE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whose home was that?

Mr. GRAY. That is where I was living.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who else was there?

Mr. GRAY. Tom Sampler and myself. I don't know who else was in the house downstairs. I had a room there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it a Communist Party card?

Mr. GRAY. I think it was. I know it was, because I saw that on it. I think it was that I was to become a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any meetings?

Mr. GRAY. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were those meetings held?

Mr. GRAY. One was at the Dunbar Hotel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was living there?

Mr. GRAY. Thomas Waller. And one at Ernest Chambers' house, I think; and I think I was at a meeting at Sampler's house, but I am not sure. I wouldn't say definitely.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the club or branch you attended which held these meetings?

(Hon. Harold H. Velde entered hearing room.)

Mr. GRAY. Douglas Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the chairman of that club?

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Thomas, Henry Thomas, I understood, was the president of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you pay your dues?

Mr. GRAY. I didn't pay any dues. I think I gave Sampler \$1. I didn't pay any dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of a local union at the time you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What union was that?

Mr. GRAY. Local 74.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any office in that union?

Mr. GRAY. I did for 1 year. I was elected as a member of the executive board just a little while after I signed this card.

Mr. TAVENNER. You got in the Communist Party before you got an office in the union, didn't you?

Mr. GRAY. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you stay in the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. I went to one or two meetings. I think they had two meetings a month. I know I went to two meetings. That is all I can remember going to. It might have been three. I am not sure. I was at Sampler's house to a meeting of some kind. A lot of members of the local met there to discuss the problems in the union, so I don't know if it was a Communist meeting or not that night, but I would rather say it was than say it wasn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hand in a resignation, or how did you get out of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. I just didn't go.

Mr. TAVENNER. You quit?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you quit?

Mr. GRAY. I just didn't like it. I didn't like the policies, the discussions that went on.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further question.

Mr. GRAY. I mean, I didn't like the idea of some outside organization taking interference with the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. You resented some outside sources telling the union what to do?

Mr. GRAY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was done, was it?

Mr. GRAY. Oh, yes, sir; that was done.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those outside people who were trying to run the union affairs, what group was that?

Mr. GRAY. Well, I would say it was the Communists. That is all I can say. In these meetings they would discuss the local affairs, and I didn't think that was right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. You are excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Robert Paul.

Mr. JOSEPH FORER. May the record show the same objection of lack of quorum?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. Have you identified yourself for the record?

Mr. FORER. I believe the young lady [the court reporter] knows me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. You are not a stranger here.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PAUL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT PAUL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
JOSEPH FORER

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Robert Paul?

Mr. PAUL. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented here by counsel?

Mr. PAUL. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel identify himself for the record and at the same time state whether or not he appeared and was present during the examination of Roy Wood.

Mr. FORER. Yes. My name is Joseph Forer, 711 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C. I practice in the District, and I was present as counsel for Mr. Roy Wood.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, before this committee proceeds to ask me questions, I would like to get its permission to read a prepared statement for the record.

Mr. WALTER. At the completion of your testimony we will pass on the question of whether or not you can read your statement. It will appear in the record.

Mr. PAUL. I trust this committee will grant me the same privilege it has granted to others prior to my appearance.

Mr. WALTER. I have ruled on that. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. PAUL. Robert Paul.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Mr. PAUL. 5345 M Street NE.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. PAUL. Cherokee County, Okla., October 31, 1910.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee briefly what your educational background has been?

Mr. PAUL. I went to high school at Booker T. Washington High School in Oklahoma; Tuskegee Institute; Howard University; and the University of Denver Law School.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave the law school, what year?

Mr. PAUL. 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee what your record of employment has been since that time?

Mr. PAUL. You mean since 1944?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. PAUL. I worked as a waiter. I worked as an inspector at the Kaiser plant in Denver, Colo.; as a construction worker; timekeeper; back to waiting on the Seaboard; general work as a waiter; plus 18 months of bookkeeping at local 74.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a clipping from the Daily Worker, the issue of December 19, 1942, which bears the date line, Washington, December 18, under the heading, "Communists on Radio Forum Today," and reads as follows:

"A Victory Program for the Nation's Capital" will be the subject of a round-table discussion over station WJSV today at 10:45 a. m.

Participating in this discussion will be Martin Chancey, city secretary of the District Communist Party; Robert Paul, chairman of its northeast branch, and Miss Selma Weiss, city secretary of the Young Communist League.

Do you recall that radio program as having taken place?

Mr. PAUL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. And you take that position because the Paul mentioned in that article is yourself; is that correct?

Mr. PAUL. I refuse to answer that question because it, too, might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you the chairman of the northeast branch?

Mr. PAUL. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold a position with local 74?

Mr. PAUL. As an employee only; as a bookkeeper.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that position?

Mr. PAUL. As bookkeeper and as window clerk.

May I say a few words, Mr. Chairman?

I hold that this committee is out to break local 74, and therefore I will not give any incriminating evidence on myself or anybody else, or anything that would tend to destroy that local.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is merely your surmise. This committee is interested only in exposing communism, wherever it is, in your local union, in the Government, or elsewhere; and we are asking you to cooperate with this committee in giving it information relating to communism, not relating to any internal disputes of your local union.

I will ask if you were not discharged from your position as bookkeeper because of your distributing Communist Party literature in the union hall?

Mr. PAUL. That statement was made by one of the traitors of the Negro people and his own union members. I myself was not fired from that union because of that. I resigned.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason?

Mr. PAUL. I resigned.

Mr. TAVENNER. You resigned instead of being fired?

Mr. PAUL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you were advised to resign, weren't you?

Mr. PAUL. I was not advised to resign. I resigned, period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was a charge made against you that you were distributing Communist Party literature in the hall?

Mr. PAUL. I refuse to answer because any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then instead of this committee being interested in hurting this union, we are showing by this very testimony that the rank and file of that union desire to oust communism from it. Isn't that true?

Mr. PAUL. I refuse to answer that question because any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you obtain your position as bookkeeper in the union, through whom?

Mr. PAUL. That has been stated, but I would like to say for the record that at the time I was employed by the local executive board I was not looking for a job; I was not unemployed. I was employed as a waiter at Bolling Field and making sufficient money to take care of my expenses.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you known Henry Thomas prior to that time?

Mr. PAUL. I wish I had never known him, but I refuse to answer that question because it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you secure your position as bookkeeper through the influence of Henry Thomas?

Mr. PAUL. He gave you his own answer and I have given you my version.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is his statement right or is it wrong?

Mr. PAUL. I corrected his statement, but it is apparent that the executive board did hire me. That is a matter of record.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you are unwilling to state whether or not it was correct that he got you the position with the union?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. PAUL. Since it is a matter of record that he says he did, I would say he did use his influence to get me the position.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PAUL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce in evidence the excerpt from the Daily Worker which I read, and ask that it be marked "Paul Exhibit 1."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The photostat of clipping above referred to, marked "Paul Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. PAUL. Now may I read my statement, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. May I ask a question?

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Did you have any military service during the last World War?

Mr. PAUL. I did not.

Mr. VELDE. What was your draft status?

Mr. PAUL. 4-F.

Mr. VELDE. Physically disqualified?

Mr. PAUL. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. Are you at the present time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PAUL. I refuse to answer that question on grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. WALTER. If you will leave your statement, it will be made a part of the record.

(The statement of Robert Paul above referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY ROBERT PAUL

Your calling me before this committee at this time is part of a drive toward world atomic war. Taking advantage of this crisis and hysteria, your committee is attempting to terrorize and intimidate those who struggle for peace, the rights of labor, and especially the rights of the Negro people. The hearings are intended to serve no democratic purpose whatsoever, but rather the committee is aiming to smash the largest trade union in the District of Columbia.

While Negroes are dying in Korea under the excuse of exporting democracy, which they cannot enjoy in the Nations Capital, this committee hounds Negro and white progressives who believe that all men are created equal. The guidance of this committee is by men with a Dixiecrat mentality. It is supposed to investigate un-Americanism, but its composition itself is un-American, the chair-

man being from the Dixiecrat State of Georgia, where a Negro has no rights: a white man is bound to respect.

My record in the struggle for Negro rights is clear. My grandmother, who was reared as a slave, instilled within me the spirit of Frederick Douglass, who taught that only through struggle could the Negro progress. My grandmother's horrible stories of slavery and the struggle of Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and many others, have given me the inspiration never to give up struggling until complete freedom for my people has been obtained.

This committee is trying to pillory all those Negro and white people who fight for the implementation of the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments.

Mr. WALTER. The meeting will adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 3:50 p. m., Tuesday, December 12, 1950, an adjournment was taken until Wednesday, December 13, 1950, at 10 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PART 2

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:20 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney (arriving as noted), Morgan M. Moulder, and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Courtney E. Owens and James A. Andrews, investigators; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. Are you ready, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Miss Alice Stapleton.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand, please, Miss Stapleton. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss STAPLETON. I so swear.

TESTIMONY OF ALICE MARY THERESA STAPLETON

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your full name, please?

Miss STAPLETON. Alice Mary Theresa Stapleton.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Miss STAPLETON. 204 Manhattan Avenue, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Miss STAPLETON. 1911, Muscatine, Iowa.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you live in the District of Columbia in any recent period of time?

Miss STAPLETON. Yes. I lived here over a year ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you still have a mailing address in the District of Columbia?

Miss STAPLETON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave the District of Columbia?

Miss STAPLETON. About a year and a half ago or so.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Miss STAPLETON. Clerk-typist, secretarial.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please outline for the committee briefly your educational background?

Miss STAPLETON. M. A., University of Iowa. Post-graduate work, University of Wisconsin.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your work at the University of Wisconsin?

Miss STAPLETON. I left the University of Wisconsin the summer after Pearl Harbor to come to work in the war effort.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline for the committee your work record?

Miss STAPLETON. I am sorry, I shall not be able to do that because it might tend to incriminate me. I have not had the advice of any lawyer, or advice of counsel of any kind, and I don't know what would tend to incriminate me under the present situation.

I know that I am a law-abiding citizen and that nobody can prove that I have disobeyed the law in any way. However, there are tendencies in the McCarran Act to which the President objected very strenuously, and that act will probably be declared unconstitutional, but I am afraid before it is declared unconstitutional there will be quite a few victims.

Then there is such a thing as guilt by association, and a lot of things are happening which tend to show that people are incriminated by some chance association, or some chance employment, or some chance meeting with somebody. That is my impression from reading the newspapers.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you have not had the benefit of counsel, and certainly the chairman will advise you that you are entitled to the benefit of counsel if you desire.

Miss STAPLETON. I think if in a court I were brought up on a charge of disobeying any law, I would have counsel.

Mr. HARRISON. Did you ever work for the Government of the United States?

Miss STAPLETON. Certainly.

Mr. HARRISON. In what capacity?

Miss STAPLETON. Clerk.

Mr. HARRISON. In what agency?

Miss STAPLETON. I would like also to say that I am not able to answer that question because I don't know whether any employment of mine may have incriminated me.

Mr. WALTER. Do you believe that working in a certain agency of the United States would in anywise involve you in a criminal prosecution?

Miss STAPLETON. Because I don't understand how the situation is now. I know that I have never disobeyed any law, and that while I was working for the Government of the United States I worked very hard in the war effort and put in a great deal of overtime without compensation until something was passed giving us compensation.

Mr. WALTER. In what agency?

Miss STAPLETON. I am not able to answer that. My life has been—

Mr. WALTER. If you will answer the questions asked I am sure we will get along very well and save a lot of time, and I assure you nothing will be asked you that will involve you in any criminal matter. I must insist that you answer the question. Where were you employed in the Government?

MISS STAPLETON. I am speaking under oath and a record is being made, and presumably it can be used in a court case. My record is a public record and my life has no secrets in it at all, and I think you could consult the proper authorities if you wanted to.

MR. WALTER. Of course we know you were employed by OWI. Isn't that correct?

MISS STAPLETON. I simply must say I cannot answer.

MR. WALTER. Were you or not employed by OWI?

MISS STAPLETON. I am not able to answer that question because I don't know whether it tends to incriminate me.

MR. WALTER. There is no intention on the part of anybody on this committee to get anybody in trouble. We are performing a duty—a distasteful duty, if you will—and we hope we will get cooperation from people who can give us information that we feel is necessary. I must insist that you answer that question. Were you or were you not employed by the OWI?

MISS STAPLETON. I see it like this——

MR. WALTER. Never mind how you see it. You answer the question, please.

MISS STAPLETON. I think it might tend to incriminate me because I don't know what might tend to incriminate me. I think it might tend to incriminate me that I worked for the Government of the United States. I don't know.

MR. MOULDER. When did your employment cease with the Government, or when did you resign or quit working for the Government?

MISS STAPLETON. I am not able to answer that question for the same reason I was not able to answer the others.

MR. WALTER. What prevents you from answering the question of when you ceased working for the United States Government?

MISS STAPLETON. I don't know what would tend to incriminate me.

MR. WALTER. Take my word that this would not incriminate you anywhere.

MISS STAPLETON. Sir, I know your word is probably good, but I am in a position where I have to answer questions, and I am answering under oath, and I don't want to answer any questions that I don't understand the implication of.

MR. WALTER. To the best of your ability, about when did you leave the employ of the United States Government?

MISS STAPLETON. I can answer it in this way, that those records are on file.

MR. WALTER. I know that, but I want you to tell us about when, to the best of your recollection.

MISS STAPLETON. I think I shall have to answer as I did before, that I am not able to answer questions of that kind because they might tend to incriminate me.

MR. MOULDER. You mean you refuse to answer for that reason? You say you are unable to answer. You are able.

MISS STAPLETON. I feel I am not able.

MR. WALTER. You are able. You know when you left the employ of the Government of the United States, don't you?

MISS STAPLETON. I am not able to answer questions of that kind because I feel that I am not in a position to defend myself properly if those questions would tend to be embarrassing. I think if you consult my records——

Mr. WALTER. Then the reason you are unwilling to answer the question is because you feel it might be embarrassing; is that correct?

Miss STAPLETON. No.

Mr. WALTER. That is what you said.

Miss STAPLETON. That is probably a mistake, because I am not very well versed in the proper procedures, but it might tend to incriminate me. I don't know. I feel that way about any employment or any association or even any acquaintance that I might have.

Mr. WALTER. We are not asking you about any employment other than your employment with the United States Government.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, you are just not going to answer any questions the committee asks you; is that true?

Miss STAPLETON. No; that is not true.

Mr. WALTER. Let us see if that is true. Mr. Tavenner, ask her some questions and see if we can get some answers.

Mr. MOULDER. While counsel is conferring, may I ask, where did you reside here in Washington?

Miss STAPLETON. I shouldn't like to answer that question either because it might tend to incriminate me. I don't know whether it will or not, but it possibly could.

Mr. MOULDER. When did you first arrive in Washington?

Miss STAPLETON. I first arrived in Washington the summer after the attack on Pearl Harbor. I forgot whether that is 1941 or 1942. I believe it was 1942.

Mr. MOULDER. When did you leave Washington?

Miss STAPLETON. Over a year and a half ago.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you have employment at the time you left?

Miss STAPLETON. No; I was unemployed at the time I left.

Mr. MOULDER. How long had you been unemployed?

Miss STAPLETON. Two or three weeks. I can't answer that exactly, because I don't remember.

Mr. WALTER. The last position you had in Washington was with the Government?

Miss STAPLETON. No; it wasn't.

Mr. WALTER. What was the last position you had in Washington?

Miss STAPLETON. I shall have to take the position on that that I am unable to answer that question because any occupation I may have had might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. When you say you are unable, do you use that word synonymously with unwilling?

Miss STAPLETON. No. I mean precisely unable.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to the District of Columbia to accept employment?

Miss STAPLETON. I have already answered that question. I came to accept employment the same time I came. If my memory doesn't fail me, the date on which I came, or the month, at least—I shouldn't say month, but it was the summer time of 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the time that you accepted employment with the Government?

Miss STAPLETON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you remained with the Government how long?

Miss STAPLETON. I really can't answer that, because my memory doesn't serve me properly. That would also be in the files.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it 1 year, 2 years, 3 years?

MISS STAPLETON. Certainly over 2 years, as far as I can recall. I think it was over 2 years.

MR. TAVENNER. What employment did you take after leaving the Government?

MISS STAPLETON. I shall be unable to answer any questions regarding my employment, the nature of it, lest it tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you employed by any foreign government?

MISS STAPLETON. I shall be unable to answer that question because it might tend to incriminate me. As I said before, my life is an open leaf.

MR. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I don't think the committee is interested in whether her life is an open book or not. I think she should answer the questions or decline to answer.

MR. HARRISON. I don't see any reason for pursuing this examination any further.

MR. WALTER. I don't think the purpose of this committee is to maneuver witnesses into a position where they may be adjudged in contempt.

MR. HARRISON. Nobody has attempted to maneuver the witness into that position. If she is in that position she maneuvered herself into that position. I don't see any purpose in pursuing the examination any further.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you employed by the United Public Workers of America at any time while you were in the District of Columbia?

MISS STAPLETON. Never.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you an employee of that organization at any time?

MISS STAPLETON. No, not that I can recall.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you employed by the United Office and Professional Workers of America?

MISS STAPLETON. I am not going to be able to answer questions regarding my employment because it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. WALTER. Is that for the reason that your employment has been with Communist-front organizations?

MISS STAPLETON. It is not for any such reason. It is for the reason that I do not know what tends to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a document known as Foreign Official Status Notification, purportedly signed by you, and including a photograph of a person purporting to be you. Will you examine it and state whether or not that is your signature and whether or not that is your photograph?

MISS STAPLETON. I am sorry, I shall not be able to answer that question lest it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. Item 16 of this document is as follows:

Nature and place or places of occupation or employment during the past 5 years—

and the document is dated February 4, 1948—

OWI—CAF IV—Code and Cipher Division, Social Security Building, Washington.

Did you work in the Code and Cipher Section of OWI?

MISS STAPLETON. I shall not be able to answer that question for the same reason that I didn't answer the others.

MR. WALTER. What is that reason?

Miss STAPLETON. Lest it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed in the Soviet Embassy as an English teacher?

Miss STAPLETON. I shall not be able to answer that question either, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. This item 16 also has the following notation :

Bulgarian Political Mission (Bulgarian Legation), typist, Washington.

Were you an employee of the Bulgarian Political Mission?

Miss STAPLETON. I shall be unable to answer that question for the same reason, that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. If I didn't make it clear, this item 16 also contains the notation :

Soviet Embassy—English teacher—Washington.

Testimony has been introduced before this committee by a person by the name of Thomas Sampler that you attended a Communist Party meeting in Baltimore which he attended. This was in the year 1948. Did you attend such a meeting?

Miss STAPLETON. I don't recall any such meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall going from Washington to Baltimore in an automobile in which Thomas Sampler was one of the passengers?

Miss STAPLETON. It looks to me as though that would be a question tending to incriminate me, too. So I don't recall it, but I am not going to be able to answer it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Thomas Sampler?

Miss STAPLETON. I shouldn't like to answer that question either, since that might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, you mean that you refuse to answer the question because it might incriminate you, in your judgment, to admit that you know Thomas Sampler?

Miss STAPLETON. I don't say I refuse, sir. I say I am unable to. I don't know, in this situation present in this country, what might tend to incriminate me. As I said before, I am a law-abiding citizen as I understand the laws and traditions of the United States of America. I have been a consciously good citizen, and not a negligent citizen. I am conscious at this moment of the Bill of Rights. I know the Bill of Rights is ignored in certain sections of the country, but I believe in the Bill of Rights, and I am conscious of it at this very moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. My purpose and desire is to ascertain from you what you know of Communist Party activities of the fourth district of the Communist Party, consisting of the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia. According to the testimony that has been introduced here, you attended one of those district meetings in Baltimore in 1948 at which Thomas Sampler was also present. Will you give us the information you have, if any, regarding the activities of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia?

Miss STAPLETON. I should be unable to give any information on anything of that kind because I don't know the nature of the inquiry, what things Thomas Sampler may have said about me, because sometimes the word of these people is held up against somebody else's word, and if there is such weight in this said Thomas Sampler, if I were

to deny anything that he said, I should probably be on the losing end of it, as I have seen things going in the courts in this country; and for that reason I feel that I am unable to answer the question because of the possibility of self-incrimination.

Mr. WALTER. If I were to inform you that under the law any statements that you make here, or any testimony that you give, could not be used against you in any other proceedings, would you still take the same position that you refuse to answer these questions?

Miss STAPLETON. I feel that I should be unable to, because it seems to be my recollection that such testimony could be used against one. For one thing, there is the press, which is another dimension in the picture, you might say. I accept your word on it, but I myself am the person who is talking here under oath, and I feel that what one says under oath is said under oath, and I shouldn't like to incriminate myself in any way.

Mr. WALTER. Because you are under oath?

Miss STAPLETON. Well, basically because I am under oath, and basically because it is a public statement that I am making.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to read you an extract from the testimony in the case of United States versus Judith Coplon, appearing at pages 5315-5316 of the record of that case. This was part of the testimony introduced from the FBI exhibits, and I quote as follows:

Alice Stapleton, 1701 Twenty-first Street NW., is employed as a secretary in the Bulgarian Legation. She was formerly employed as a teacher of English at the Soviet Embassy, and according to T-5, an informant of known reliability who is acquainted with her affairs, Stapleton in May 1947 assured Boyan Athanassov mentioned above that she was a member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., underground group, and that she had applied for active membership in the Communist Party but had been declined due to the fact that she was active in the United Public Workers of America and the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO.

Were you acquainted with Boyan Athanassov?

Miss STAPLETON. I should like to decline to answer that, say that I am unable to answer that question, lest it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you wish to deny or affirm or explain this testimony that was introduced in the Coplon trial? In asking that question, we want information regarding the activities of the Communist Party in this country, and that is what we are asking you to give.

Miss STAPLETON. I am unable to answer any questions regarding my employment, or regarding persons with whom I am acquainted, for the same reason that I gave before, that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you refused active membership in the Communist Party?

Miss STAPLETON. I am unable to answer that question for the same reason that I gave before, that it might tend to incriminate me, and I do not know what questions tend to incriminate me. I do not know what connection such questions would be used in, and for that reason I am afraid the answers might be incriminating.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended meetings of the National Negro Congress?

Miss STAPLETON. I am unable to answer that question also for the reason stated before, that I feel that it might tend to incriminate me, and the fifth amendment protects me from that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you an issue of the German-American Independent Publication, the issue of January 1950, and call your attention to page 2, where you are listed as one of the signers of greetings to Communist-controlled Germany, in which there is bracketed in the center a statement by Gerhart Eisler, also as one of the signers.

Miss STAPLETON. I certainly have never heard of this publication. Well, I should be unable to identify that inasmuch as to do so might tend to incriminate me. I don't know the German language very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign such a greeting?

Miss STAPLETON. I am unable to answer that for the reason I have just given.

Mr. WALTER. What reason is that?

Miss STAPLETON. That it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the publication in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Stapleton Exhibit 1."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The publication above referred to, marked "Stapleton Exhibit 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. And I also desire to offer in evidence the foreign official status notification document, and ask that it be marked "Stapleton Exhibit 2."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Stapleton Exhibit 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. WALTER. Where did you say you were born?

Miss STAPLETON. Muscatine, Iowa. I don't guess it would tend to incriminate me that I was born.

Mr. WALTER. What date?

Miss STAPLETON. March 26, 1911.

Mr. WALTER. I call your attention to the fact that the person whose name is mentioned in this document just introduced in evidence as Stapleton Exhibit 2 was born at Muscatine, Iowa, on March 26, 1911.

Miss STAPLETON. What person? Do you mean me?

Mr. WALTER. I strongly suspect it was you. There is no doubt in my mind.

Miss STAPLETON. I thought perhaps Mr. Sampler or somebody was born at the same time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the photograph appearing on Stapleton exhibit 2 and state whether or not that is your photograph?

Miss STAPLETON. I have examined it. I shall be unable to do that for the same reason that I stated before, that it might tend to incriminate me. It seems to be a negative.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WALTER. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Chester L. Kurrier.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand. You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KURRIER. I so swear.

**TESTIMONY OF CHESTER L. KURRIER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER**

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. KURRIER. Chester L. Kurrier.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. KURRIER. Holyoke, Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented here by counsel?

Mr. KURRIER. Yes, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation, Mr. Kurrier?

Mr. KURRIER. I am a printer in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom are you employed?

Mr. KURRIER. Superior Print Shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the owner of the Superior Print Shop?

Mr. KURRIER. As far as I know it is a corporation composed of several people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Tilla Minowitz one of the principal owners of that business?

Mr. KURRIER. She may be. I am not sure of that. They don't tell me their business. I work there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Tilla Minowitz?

Mr. KURRIER. I don't know her personally.

Mr. WALTER. Have you seen her at your place of employment?

Mr. KURRIER. Yes, I have seen her. She managed the shop in 1949 and the first part of this year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended any meetings of any kind with her, other than meetings involving the operation of the print shop?

Mr. KURRIER. May I consult my counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Certainly.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. We are making inquiry here, Mr. Kurrier, into Communist Party activities in the District of Columbia. Have you been present at any Communist Party meeting in the District?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you assisted or aided in any way the activities of that organization, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, in its operations in the District of Columbia? I ask you that question for the purpose of determining what you know about its operations and who are members of it.

(Hon. John McSweeney entered hearing room.)

Mr. KURRIER. That is the same question you asked me before, and I refuse to answer it on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of document entitled "Congress on American-Soviet Relations," which I believe is the program of a meeting held in New York on December 3, 4, and 5, 1949. On the last page, under the heading of "Endorsers," there is found your name, Chester L. Kurrier, Washington, D. C.

Will you examine that and state whether you are the individual whose name appears there on the last page, and if so, what means and methods were used to obtain your endorsement of that program?

Mr. KURRIER. It seems to me this question is the same as the previous two. I refuse to answer this question on the same grounds as I did the others.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know Miss Stapleton, the witness who just testified?

Mr. KURRIER. I have seen her around.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know her?

Mr. KURRIER. I know her. I mean—

Mr. WALTER. Where did you come to know her?

Mr. KURRIER. I can't exactly remember. I mean, I have met a lot of people. I happen to be acquainted with her.

Mr. WALTER. When did you first come to know Miss Stapleton?

Mr. KURRIER. I can't remember, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Did you meet her at any meetings?

Mr. KURRIER. May I consult my counsel?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. I saw you engaged in conversation with her this morning as you were sitting out here waiting to be called. When was the last time before this morning that you talked with her?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. Did you talk with her yesterday on the telephone?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. Did you meet her at the airport this morning?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce the program of the Congress on American-Soviet Relations in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Kurrier Exhibit 1."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Kurrier Exhibit 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You were identified by Henry Thomas and Thomas Sampler, in testimony before this committee in the past few days, as a member of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia. Is there any explanation or statement you desire to make regarding that identification of you?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed at the Superior Print Shop?

Mr. KURRIER. I think from about August 1949 to the present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KURRIER. I worked for a short time at a print shop just off First and N Streets NW. I forget the name of that particular company.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been in the District of Columbia, have you lived here?

Mr. KURRIER. I came here in the fall of 1947, as far as I can remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Henry Thomas and Thomas Sampler?

Mr. KURRIER. You mean have I known them?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. KURRIER. Yes, I have known them.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you known Henry Thomas?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. KURRIER. As far as I can remember—you are asking about Mr. Thomas?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; Henry Thomas.

Mr. KURRIER. I have known him since about 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you became acquainted with him?

Mr. KURRIER. Well, I just met him. I mean, he is one of my acquaintances.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was it that you met him?

Mr. KURRIER. I don't remember right now. I mean, I have known a lot of people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Surely you remember the circumstances under which you met him?

Mr. KURRIER. No, I can't recall. You mean the first time I met him? Do I understand your question correctly?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. KURRIER. I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any meetings with him?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you first met him, did you meet him at a meeting, or what were the circumstances under which you met him?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. How frequently did you see him?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Thomas Sampler?

Mr. KURRIER. I have known him too.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you known him?

Mr. KURRIER. About the same time, if I remember correctly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet him at the same time you met Henry Thomas?

Mr. KURRIER. I don't think so. I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you met him?

Mr. KURRIER. Like I said, I have known him as an acquaintance.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any meetings of any kind at which Sampler was present?

Mr. KURRIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you ever employed by the Federal Government in any position?

Mr. KURRIER. Well, I think so. I was employed by the NYA when I was a student, and I was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States for 4 years.

Mr. MOULDER. Outside of that, no other Government employment?

Mr. KURRIER. Not that I remember.

Mr. MOULDER. When were you a student?

Mr. KURRIER. I was a student for about 4 years before I entered the service in 1941 and 1 year after I was honorably discharged from the United States Army.

Mr. MOULDER. Where were you employed by the NYA?

Mr. KURRIER. At the University of Massachusetts, which was then known as Massachusetts State College.

Mr. MOULDER. What was your work in connection with the NYA?

Mr. KURRIER. Well, I did general clerical work. It was part-time work to help pay my way through school. I didn't have much money.

Mr. MOULDER. When did you come to Washington?

Mr. KURRIER. When? I came to Washington in 1947, if I remember correctly.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you tell the committee what induced you to come to Washington?

Mr. KURRIER. Certainly. It was a matter of bread and butter. I was earning \$28 a week plus some on-the-job training assistance from the Government when I was working as a printer in Amherst, and I couldn't support my family on the money I was making, so I came to Washington thinking I may find a job that would enable me to support my family half way decently.

Mr. MOULDER. You are married?

Mr. KURRIER. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. How many in your family?

Mr. KURRIER. Wife and one son.

Mr. MOULDER. How long were you in the service?

Mr. KURRIER. About 4 years.

Mr. WALTER. Any further questions?

(No response.)

Mr. WALTER. The witness may be excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Clarence Gurewitz.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand, please, Mr. Gurewitz? You swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE DARROW GUREWITZ, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, H. CLIFFORD ALLDER

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your full name, please?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Clarence Darrow Gurewitz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. ALLDER. H. Clifford Alder.

Mr. TAVENNER. And your address?

Mr. ALLDER. Columbian Building, 416 Fifth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your address, Mr. Gurewitz?

Mr. GUREWITZ. 1112 Quebec Street, Silver Spring, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Newark, N. J., December 24, 1914.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I am employed by a builder.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the construction business.

Mr. GUREWITZ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you briefly outline to the committee your employment record and background?

Mr. GUREWITZ. It is almost impossible. I have had a number of jobs. I can tell you some I remember.

I worked for a medical publishing company for about a year and a half, doing research service for this employer, a publisher of medical journals.

I worked in my father's store off and on for many years in Georgetown.

I have worked as a carpenter's helper in construction work.

I have played the piano for a living.

I worked for WPA a couple times.

I installed television antennas 2 years ago for about a year.

I worked for the Times-Herald once when I was in high school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Gurewitz, two witnesses appearing before this committee in the past few days, Henry Thomas and Thomas Sampler, have identified you as having been affiliated with the Communist Party of the District of Columbia. Our purpose in asking you here is to obtain from you such information as we can obtain regarding the activities of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia. Were you affiliated with the Communist Party here?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I refuse to answer on the grounds my answer might tend to incriminate me. The Supreme Court has sustained that position just 2 days ago in the Denver case.

Mr. WALTER. Somebody is going to be surprised to find that the cases are not the same.

Mr. GUREWITZ. My answer is still the same, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Henry Thomas?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I think in view of the testimony of the past week my answer to that would also tend to incriminate me. I cannot answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a news article from the Washington Post of January 10, 1948, and I ask you to glance at it for the purpose of refreshing your recollection.

Mr. GUREWITZ. I remember reading the story. Is that your question?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is right. This is a report on a trial over in Arlington in which you appeared as a witness, I believe, is that correct?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the news article you are reported to have been asked this question at the trial:

Did you on June 6, 1946, act as chairman at a meeting of the northwest section of the Communist Party of the District at Georgia Avenue and Otis Place NW.?

To which you replied that you had.

Mr. GUREWITZ. I don't recollect the question or the answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. After refreshing your recollection by looking at this article, do you now recall that you were asked the question as to whether or not you were chairman at a meeting of the northwest section of the Communist Party?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I haven't refreshed my memory. I just glanced at the headline.

(The news article referred to was again handed to the witness.)

Mr. GUREWITZ. I don't remember the question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it true or not that you were chairman of the northwest section of the Communist Party at any of its meetings?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then at another place in the article a news reporter writes:

Asked point-blank by Attorney Thomas whether he had been a Communist in June of 1946, Gurewitz replied, "Yes." He denied being a Communist in June 1947.

Mr. GUREWITZ. My answer is the same, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your answer?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I cannot answer because the answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce this photostat of news article in the record, and ask that it be marked "Gurewitz Exhibit 1."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Gurewitz Exhibit 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. MOULDER. Since you have revealed that information at the hearing or trial mentioned by counsel just a short time ago, how would your answer today tend to incriminate you, after you have given the information in answer to the same question he asked you?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. GUREWITZ. I didn't answer either affirmatively or negatively the question asked by Mr. Tavenner, and therefore I have not accepted the accuracy of that story.

Mr. MOULDER. I see.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that you did not answer the question one way or the other. Let us make certain that you understood my question. Were you asked the question in the trial of this case in 1948 as to whether you had been chairman of a meeting in the northwest section of the Communist Party? Were you asked that question?

Mr. GUREWITZ. The only answer I can give you is that I know there was a trial and that questions were asked. What questions were asked, I don't remember. All my friends can tell you I am notorious for my poor memory. I know about 3,000 people here, and I meet people I went to school with and cannot remember their names.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is not a question of names. Were you asked if you acted as chairman at a meeting of the northwest section of the Communist Party?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I don't remember that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you were asked that question at the trial, and if you had answered as reported here that you had been such a chairman, would that answer have been true or false?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I can't answer that question, on the ground that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you are refusing to answer any question relating to your alleged chairmanship of the northwest section of the Communist Party on the grounds your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. GUREWITZ. The only questions I refuse to answer are those I have specifically refused to answer so far. There may be other questions that I will answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you were asked the question as to whether or not you were a Communist in June 1946 and you replied "Yes" during the course of that trial, was that statement true or false?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I shall have to answer that question in the same way.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you refuse to answer on the ground your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Self-incrimination; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now hand you a photostatic copy of what purports to be a throw-away sheet issued by the Northwest Club of the Communist Party, bearing date 1946, the heading of which is "How to prevent corruption in the District," and which advertised an open-air meeting. The speakers are listed as Sy Bakst, educational director, and Clarence Gurewitz, chairman, and at the bottom it states "Issued by the Northwest Club of the Communist Party."

Will you examine that throw-away sheet and state whether or not you acted as chairman at that meeting?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I cannot answer that question on the same grounds, that the answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your connection with the issuance of that throw-away sheet by the Northwest Club of the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I cannot answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that throw-away sheet in evidence and ask that it be marked "Gurewitz exhibit 2."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Gurewitz exhibit 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. MOULDER. Were you ever employed in any branch of the Federal Government?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I believe I was some years ago.

Mr. MOULDER. When was that?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I am sorry I can't recall the exact year. I would say about 14 or 15 years ago, something like that.

Mr. MOULDER. In what branch of the Federal Government were you employed?

Mr. GUREWITZ. In the Veterans' Administration. I worked there a short time.

Mr. HARRISON. What were your duties?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I was a file clerk in the basement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say what the date was?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I am sorry, I can't remember the year. It was roughly 15 years ago.

Mr. HARRISON. Is that the only employment you had with the Government of the United States?

Mr. GUREWITZ. No. I worked for a week or less at Baltimore for the Census Bureau.

Mr. HARRISON. When was that?

Mr. GUREWITZ. That was many years ago. I worked for the WPA, as I mentioned before. I guess you would call that Federal employment.

Mr. HARRISON. What did you do on the WPA?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I wrote on the writers' project.

Mr. HARRISON. What did you write?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Pamphlets on historical sights in Washington, and bulletins issued by the Park Service. I wrote about half of those issued while I was employed there.

Mr. WALTER. Who was your employer in the Interior Department?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I was in the editor's division of the Park Service. I don't remember the name of the supervisor.

Mr. WALTER. Who was at the head of the project?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I am sorry, I cannot remember. All I remember is that Ickes was Secretary of the Interior at that time. I think Cammerer was head of the Park Service, if I am not mistaken. Outside of that I cannot remember the names of my immediate superiors.

Mr. HARRISON. Do I understand you wrote about half the Park Service pamphlets issued?

Mr. GUREWITZ. During that particular year.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you remember what parks you wrote about?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Yes, the one in Hawaii. These were not original writing jobs. My job was to take previous pamphlets of 32 pages and reduce them to about 16 pages and add new information. Yellowstone Park; Rocky Mountain; I have the whole bunch of them at home and would be very glad to turn them over.

Mr. WALTER. What years were they published?

Mr. GUREWITZ. 1939 or 1940.

Mr. HARRISON. Did you write one on the Shenandoah National Park?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I don't think so. I think I was working on it, and I don't know if my employment terminated then or not.

Mr. HARRISON. You say you wrote various historical pamphlets about Washington. Do you remember what they were?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I remember one on the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. I went through the building and was shown the activities, and I incorporated them into pamphlet form. I think I had one project on tunnels in Washington.

Mr. HARRISON. Tunnels?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. Underground, you mean?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Yes. None of this was ever published. I don't know what happened to the material. All I did was turn it over to my employer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you also known by the name of Casey?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to read to you an extract from the testimony in the trial of the case of United States versus Judith Coplon, appear-

ing at page 5335 of the record of that case. This was part of the testimony introduced from the FBI exhibits. I quote as follows:

Clarence D. Gurewitz, also known as Casey Gurewitz, according to informant T-9, is a very active member of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia and has been such for 12 years.

Do you have any statement you desire to make regarding that testimony?

Mr. GUREWITZ. I cannot answer that question on the grounds that my answer might incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your wife's name?

Mr. GUREWITZ. Helen.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. The witness may be excused.

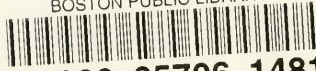
(Witness excused.)

Mr. WALTER. The meeting now stands adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 11:40 a. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

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